

# THE SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW



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# THE SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

A QUARTERLY DEVOTED TO THE SCIENTIFIC AND  
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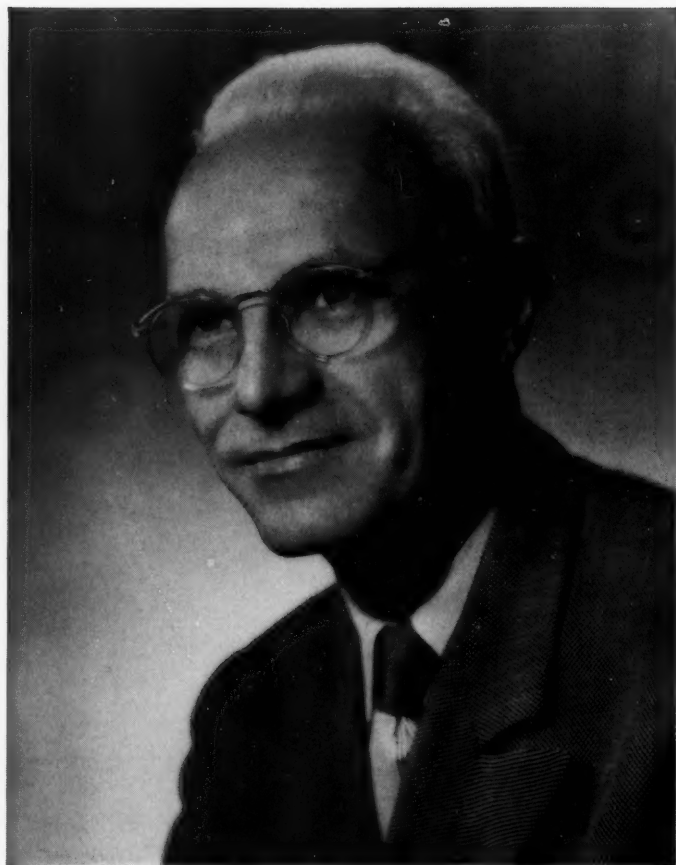
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# THE SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

Volume XXVI

JUNE 1952

Number 2

## OLD AGE PENSIONS IN CANADA: A REVIEW AND A RESULT

JOHN S. MORGAN

WITH the passing of new legislation in the 1951 session of the Canadian Parliament, a new step forward has been taken in the development of income-maintenance programs for old people. From January 1, 1952, Canada has a two-tier system of old age pensions. All qualified residents in Canada over seventy years of age are entitled to receive a monthly pension of \$40.00 a month under a wholly federal program, and provision has been made for federal sharing of costs in provincial old age assistance programs for needy persons between the ages of sixty-five and sixty-nine. These major decisions of policy are important, not merely because they extend the coverage of the Canadian income-maintenance programs for the older age group, but most particularly because they mark radical changes of thought about methods of providing and financing income maintenance in social security. These decisions were made after careful study and vigorous public debate. The implications of these changes for social security theory need to be examined.

As in Great Britain, the need of old people for financial support was among the earliest social needs to be recognized

in Canada. The first debate on the subject in the present century took place in the Canadian House of Commons during the session of 1906-7 and was probably inspired, at least in part, by the public discussions that were going on in Great Britain and in many other countries on this subject. In February, 1908, a select committee of the House of Commons was appointed to examine the matter in detail; but its proceedings were impeded by the unusually strenuous work of the House, and the committee disbanded without making any formal report. However, in March of that year the government of the day introduced, and in July enacted, the Government Annuities Act,<sup>1</sup> establishing in the Department of Trade and Commerce<sup>2</sup> a branch issuing government annuities at a preferred rate for the specific purpose of encouraging personal savings. The preamble of the act makes this intention clear: "Whereas it is in the public interest that habits of thrift be promoted and that the people of Canada be encouraged and aided thereto so that

<sup>1</sup> *Canada Revised Statutes, 1927*, chap. vii.

<sup>2</sup> In 1912 administration of this act was transferred to the Post Office Department; and in 1922 the administration of the act was transferred to the Department of Labour, where it has remained since the war.

provision may be made for old age: and whereas it is expedient that further facilities be afforded for the attaining of the said objective."

The Canadian government seems to have been satisfied that this action would be sufficient and that there was no need for the select committee to press forward with any other proposals for public assistance to old people in need of financial support. The parallel debate that had been going on in Great Britain led to the establishment of noncontributory old age pensions in 1908 and set the pattern for that country, which was not changed until the widows, orphans, and old age contributory pensions were introduced in 1925.

The matter then rested until 1912, when on January 24 the Canadian House of Commons adopted a resolution that it was expedient to set up a select special committee to "make an enquiry into an Old Age Pensions System for Canada." This committee presented an interim report and was reappointed in the next session. A fairly extensive study was made, fifteen sessions being held, and forty-one witnesses examined, representing industry, agriculture, governmental and public institutions, municipalities, and religious societies. The whole of the evidence was presented to the House and reprinted as an appendix to the *Journals of the House*, but the committee was not reappointed in 1914 to complete its work. The reason for lack of progress at this point can be easily found in the debate, during the 1914 session, when a Mr. Kyte moved that "in the opinion of this House an Old Age Pension System for Canada should be inaugurated." The Minister of Finance moved the adjournment of the debate in the following terms:

Having regard to all the considerations I have mentioned—the state of public opinion in

the matter and the obligations that will devolve upon Canada to furnish money for the development of the country, its coasts, waterways, transportation routes and public buildings—having regard to all these considerations and the fact that Canada can be differentiated without difficulty from other countries that have successfully adopted old age pension systems, I am of the view, and the Government is of the view, that the legislation contemplated by this resolution is premature and in advance of necessity and public opinion.<sup>3</sup>

In a word, the matter was one presenting financial and administrative problems of a substantial nature, and there was little political advantage to be gained by pursuing it.

Then the matter rested throughout World War I. In 1921 the Speech from the Throne gave promise of reconsideration, but nothing was done; in 1922 the House approved a favorable resolution; and finally in 1923 a special committee was appointed to make an inquiry into the whole matter. Once again the committee examined witnesses, received studies of the systems in other countries, and obtained the views of municipalities throughout Canada. This committee reported in July, 1924, and its recommendations became the blueprint for Canada's first old age pensions scheme. It was by this time becoming evident that the peculiar Canadian difficulty of appropriate governmental jurisdictions would have to be solved before any definite move could be taken. It seems to have been agreed that, while there was nothing in the British North America Act to prevent the federal government contributing from the Consolidated Revenue Fund, the administration of pensions would require separate agreements with each of the provinces and provincial legislation. It is, however, notable that the proceedings of the special committee

<sup>3</sup> *House of Commons Debates*, 1914, p. 1345.

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of 1924<sup>4</sup> contain no specific discussion of the constitutional question, although it had been raised in the debates during the 1923 session of the House of Commons. The 1924 proposals were therefore submitted to the governments of the nine provinces, and the special committee was reappointed in 1925 to consider their replies. It would appear that the special committee's proposals of 1924 had required provincial administration and provincial sharing of the costs, not on constitutional grounds at all, but for fiscal and financial reasons.

This impression is confirmed by the replies from the provinces. None of them was at all anxious to accept the financial responsibility, and two of the provinces (Saskatchewan and British Columbia) expressed the view that the provision of old age pensions was a matter for the federal government. It was at this point that an authoritative opinion was obtained from the Department of Justice whose representative replied to the committee's formal reference on May 25, 1925:

I may say that this subject does not fall within any of the enumerated subjects given to the Dominion under Section 91 of the British North America Act, but it does in my judgment fall within the subject "Property and Civil Right in the Province," committed to the Province under Section 92. . . .

The reply went on to suggest that the federal government might contribute to and assist the provinces in setting up schemes, so long as there was no obligation upon any province or person to contribute to the scheme. There was a further sentence, in the nature of an obiter dictum, to the effect that "the enactment

of such legislation would, however, involve the assumption by the Dominion of obligations involving heavy expenditures with regard to a matter which does not fall specifically within the Dominion field of legislation." This constitutional ruling, which seems clearly to have been sought in those terms at the time by the federal government as a weapon to coerce the provinces to share in the costs of an old age pension scheme, has proved to be the equivalent of letting the genie out of the bottle in the whole field of social legislation in Canada. Its acceptance laid the foundation for the ruling of a National Unemployment Insurance Act as *ultra vires* in 1935 and for the interminable wrangles of the 1930's and 1940's on the constitutional issue, which still bedevil and hamper the development of social security legislation in Canada.

The special committee of 1925, considering the views of the provinces and the constitutional ruling of the Department of Justice, recommended a federal-provincial conference in order to secure "co-operative action." Some attempt was made in the House of Commons to refer this recommendation back with instructions to the committee to prepare a wholly federal scheme, but this was defeated and the original recommendation adopted. The government, however, had got the self-protecting screen it wanted in the constitutional ruling of its own Department of Justice, and in 1926 a bill was introduced, based on the principles of the report of 1924. After lengthy debate the bill was passed by the House of Commons but rejected by the Senate. It was reintroduced after a general election, and this time received the approval of both houses and became law in March, 1927. By this time Old Age Pensions had become a fruitful political issue, and the administrative and financial complica-

<sup>4</sup> "Proceedings of the Special Committee Appointed To Make an Enquiry into an Old Age Pension System for Canada," Appendix 4, 1924, to the *Journals of the House of Commons* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1924).



tions seemed less substantial in appearance than they had in 1914. However, the importance of getting the provincial governments to share in the costs was still great enough to justify a complex proposal and the creation of a constitutional redoubt into which the federal government could retire at any time it chose.<sup>5</sup>

The legislation of 1927 offered each of the provinces the opportunity to pass provincial legislation which was consonant with the broad principles in the federal act and to sign an agreement with the federal government. Administration of the scheme was left to the provincial authorities within the framework of general federal regulations. The federal government was authorized to reimburse the province 50 per cent of a pension paid to a British subject of seventy years or over who had twenty years of residence in Canada, including five years in the province of application, who was not an Indian and who met certain restrictions on income and property. The maximum pension to which the federal government would contribute was \$20.00 a month, and this was reduced pro rata by the amount of other income in excess of \$125.00 a year. These agreements also contained a clause, required by Section 4 of the act itself, which made it impossible for the federal government to alter or break off the arrangement without the consent of the province except by giving ten years' notice.

<sup>5</sup> From the point of view of the provinces and those who hold strong views about provincial rights, the opposite view can be taken that the Old Age Pensions Act of 1927 might have been held unconstitutional had it ever been challenged. Some discussion of this point, with appropriate reference, appears in a study prepared for the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations in 1939 by L. M. Gouin and Brooke Claxton entitled *Legislative Expedients and Devices Adopted by the Dominion and the Provinces*. See pages 20-22 of this study published in Ottawa by the King's Printer in 1939.

The provinces were in no great hurry to assume the burden. British Columbia moved at once in 1927, to be followed in 1928 by Saskatchewan and Manitoba, and in 1929 by the Northwest Territories, Alberta, and Ontario. Then there was a hiatus. The depression was beginning to hit Canada. Provincial revenues were strained to the breaking point, and the federal government retired into its constitutional redoubt and tried to insist that unemployment was a purely local responsibility. As a device to relieve the provinces of some financial burdens, however, the federal government in 1931 increased the federal share of Old Age Pensions from 50 to 75 per cent. As the worst of the depression moved away, the other provinces enacted old age pension acts under the now more generous terms. Prince Edward Island came into the scheme in 1933 and was followed in 1934 by Nova Scotia and in 1936 by New Brunswick and Quebec. The Yukon Territory came in in 1949, and in the same year Newfoundland became the tenth province and at once passed legislation under the scheme.

There were no changes in the basic principles of the legislation, but adjustments were made in the amount of maximum pensions as the cost of living rose in the early years of World War II and the subsequent inflation. By 1949 the maximum pension rate was \$40.00 a month, or double the rate set in 1927, but the maximum allowable income, excluding pension, had actually been slightly decreased. In 1947 the requirement for provincial residence was abolished.

This system came in for substantial criticism in the latter half of the 1930's and during the planning for reconstruction which went on during World War II. The first substantial studies and some of the most effective criticism arose out of

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the work of the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations, commonly known as the Rowell-Sirois Commission, which reported in 1939. The administrative difficulties inherent in any scheme requiring conditional grants-in-aid from the federal government were set out in a memorandum by J. A. Corry.<sup>6</sup> He pointed out that the federal government's supervision of a system in which it paid most of the cost was, inevitably, very superficial. It was confined to accounting supervision and, being done in arrears, had very little effect on administration. For political reasons, as well as from the point of view of administrative feasibility, the federal government could only acquiesce in the decisions made by provincial officers, except in cases, obviously very rare, of flagrant violation of the legislation. Corry also drew attention to the inadequacy and instability of provincial administrations at a time when political patronage was still largely practiced by the provinces in appointing staff for welfare programs. Corry's conclusion, which was accepted by the Rowell-Sirois Commission in its *Report*, was that "the reasons given here are sufficient for suspecting that joint administration is inherently unsatisfactory."<sup>7</sup> In fairness to Corry it should be noted that he took account of the successful experience of the United States in the use of the device of conditional grants-in-aid, but he took the view that the different constitutional relationships between the federal government and the provinces of Canada and the different balance of political and cultural forces in Canada made analogy with the United States inappropriate.

<sup>6</sup> J. A. Corry, *Difficulties of Divided Jurisdiction: A Study Prepared for the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1939).

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.

In his memorandum on *Public Assistance and Social Insurance* for the Rowell-Sirois Commission, Grauer advocated categorically<sup>8</sup> that the major burden of an income-maintenance program for old people in Canada should be carried by a contributory system operated by the federal government, leaving to an improved public assistance program operated by the provinces the residual load of persons who could not, for one reason or another, be covered by the automatic devices of a contributory system. He regarded the use of a means test program as restrictive and inappropriate in meeting the needs of the aged.

The Rowell-Sirois Commission report, with its sixteen separate published appendixes, was put on the shelf upon the outbreak of World War II, where it remains, gathering dust, to this day. The next study was made, under considerable pressure, following the publication of the Beveridge Report for Great Britain and the vitalizing effect which Beveridge's lucid exposition of the problem of want in modern industrial society and his equally lucid proposals had upon public opinion throughout the free nations. A report was prepared by L. C. Marsh for the Advisory Committee on Reconstruction appointed in 1942 by the government of Canada.<sup>9</sup>

The Marsh report criticized the existing Old Age Pension Scheme in some detail. Administration was categorized as rigid, legalistic, and repressive; the comment was made that "in no province can it be said that the old age pension administration carries out an adequate social treatment of the problem of assistance

<sup>8</sup> A. E. Grauer, *Public Assistance and Social Insurance: A Study Prepared for the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1939).

<sup>9</sup> L. C. Marsh, *Report on Social Security for Canada* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1943).

and service to the aged person." The practice of assuming income from children or from property when in fact no such income was actually forthcoming was regarded as unsound; residence provisions were criticized as unduly rigid and primitive; incomes provided (at that time \$30.00 a month maximum, with an allowable "other income" limit of \$125.00 a year) were judged inadequate; and the age limit of seventy was considered too high. These criticisms were followed by a reasoned recommendation for a contributory social insurance<sup>10</sup> as part of a coherent and comprehensive program of social security. The only recommendation of the March report which has thus far been adopted in Canada was the establishment in 1944 of a generous scale of family allowances as one of the basic foundations upon which a social security scheme could be developed.<sup>11</sup>

In 1945 the government of Canada called a Dominion-Provincial Conference on Reconstruction. The *Reference Book* on health, welfare, and labor<sup>12</sup> prepared for the conference contained a brief factual presentation of the position with regard to old age pensions at the time and made reference to the limitations of the scheme. Emphasis was laid on the restrictive effects of the means test, not only in the rejection of ineligible applicants, but also in its deterrent effect on potentially eligible old people. The provisions allowing for recovery of pension payments from the estates of deceased pensioners and the practice adopted by some provinces of registering liens against the real property of pensioners were also

quoted as preventing many eligible persons from making application for pensions. The difficulties of administration, which produced wide variations in practice as between individual provinces, and the problem of securing the agreement of all nine provinces to any proposed changes in the regulations were also noted.

The government of Canada then laid before the conference a comprehensive set of proposals.<sup>13</sup> The conference itself soon became hopelessly ensnared in a wrangle about fiscal jurisdiction and provincial rights. The social security proposals were never seriously discussed, and the conference was abandoned. The brief references in these proposals to old age pensions, however, were significant as casting before them the shadow of future action. The existing scheme was criticized on four specific grounds. The means test was "generally recognised as undesirable"; the minimum age of seventy was regarded as too high for all cases of need; the statutory maximum pension of \$25.00 (as it then was) "may still be too low as a national minimum"; and "any broad extension of the present plan would impose serious burdens on limited local revenues in a number of provinces."

The government then put forward a double-headed proposition. A national old age pension of \$30.00 a month would be paid without means test to all Canadians over seventy years of age under a scheme financed and administered wholly by the federal government. The federal government would make available grants-in-aid to the provinces on the basis of 50 per cent of pension costs for the age group 65-69, leaving the provinces the responsibility for establishing

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, chap. xiii.

<sup>11</sup> See Edward E. Schwartz, "Some Observations on the Canadian Family Allowances Program," *Social Service Review*, XX (December, 1946), 451-73.

<sup>12</sup> *Health, Welfare and Labour: Reference Book for the Dominion-Provincial Conference on Reconstruction* (1945).

<sup>13</sup> *Proposals of the Government of Canada to the Dominion-Provincial Conference on Reconstruction* (August, 1945).

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a means-test pension of up to \$30.00 a month on almost the same basis as the then existing scheme, the only substantial change in eligibility conditions proposed being the abolition of the regulation requiring recovery from the estates of deceased pensioners. It was clearly stated that "it would be essential that the provinces should continue to provide welfare services where necessary for persons of age 70 and over, as well as for those under 70."<sup>14</sup> It was pointed out that these proposals could be financed out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund, but the document included a recommendation that specific agreements be made with the provincial governments for the addition of features "more specifically contributory in nature."

Very little argument was put forward to justify the proposals, which combine a new principle of universal benefits with the repetition for the age group sixty-five to sixty-nine of all the features, desirable and undesirable, of the existing scheme for those over seventy years of age. Since the conference never reached discussion of the social security proposals, the grounds for putting these suggestions forward remained shrouded in silence. The proposals were noted by the Canadian Welfare Council as representing "a great advance over present provisions regarding old age pension," in that they "have the obvious merits of simplicity in content and in administration, of promptness in application and of universal coverage." In addition, they could be adopted without constitutional amendment. The Welfare Council, however, went on to raise substantial objections and to recommend an alternative approach, advocated in the recommendations of the Marsh report, based on a contributory system of retirement pensions, which

were to be available at the age of sixty-five for men and the age of sixty for women and supported by a federal-provincial assistance program for those not covered by the contributory scheme.<sup>15</sup>

Meanwhile, throughout the whole decade of the 1940's, the existing scheme was being shown to be inadequate to the needs of the growing number of older people in Canada. As the war loosened the financial stringencies upon provincial revenues, the provinces adopted supplemental programs to ease the most serious consequences of inadequacy. In 1942 and 1943 six of the provinces introduced supplementary allowances. These were changed in 1943, when the maximum aidable pension rate was raised to \$25.00 a month and, after some further variations, were in some provinces reduced or abolished when pension rates were raised in 1947 to \$30.00 a month and in 1949 to \$40.00 a month. In 1950 three provinces were still paying supplements—in British Columbia and Alberta up to \$10.00 a month and in Saskatchewan up to \$2.50 a month. A supplementary allowance of \$10.00 a month was also paid in the Yukon Territory. In addition to cash allowances, some provinces were providing medical care of some kind, varying from fairly complete care to office calls and minimum medication and sometimes hospital care to pensioners.

It was by now obvious that a revision of the old age pensions system was good politics. The hasty upward revision of maximum pension rates from \$30.00 to \$40.00 just before the federal election in 1949 merely staved off criticism; and the Liberal party, under its new leader, Mr. St. Laurent, was committed to revision of the whole system. In March, 1950, a

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

<sup>15</sup> Canadian Welfare Council, *Dominion-Provincial Relations and Social Security: A Brief Presented to the Government of Canada* (Ottawa, 1946).

Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons was set up to re-examine the whole question. This committee sat continuously from April 18 until June 23 and held fifty-two sessions, thirty-eight of them being public hearings and fourteen of them private sessions. The printed daily proceedings run to

interpretation of allowable other income from real property; to the assumed value adopted by the provinces for free board and lodging; to the calculation of income derived from board and lodging paid to a pensioner operating a boarding house; to the variations in the selection of a base year which in some provinces enabled the

TABLE 1\*

NUMBER OF PENSIONERS, AVERAGE MONTHLY PENSION, PER CENT RECEIVING MAXIMUM PENSION, PER CENT OF POPULATION AGE SEVENTY AND OVER IN RECEIPT OF PENSION, MARCH, 1950, AND PERSONAL INCOME PER CAPITA 1948, BY PROVINCE

Province	Number of Pensioners March, 1950	Average Monthly Pension March, 1950 (Maximum \$40)	Per Cent Receiving Maximum Pension	Per Cent Population Age 70 and Over on Pension March, 1950†	Personal Income per Capita, 1948‡
Newfoundland.....	10,296	\$29.47§	94.4§	76.3	.....
Prince Edward Island.....	2,976	34.36	35.5	45.1	\$ 548
Nova Scotia.....	19,966	35.41	46.5	57.4	682
New Brunswick.....	16,231	36.22	58.3	71.5	636
Quebec.....	69,017	37.73	82.5	49.3	784
Ontario.....	85,100	38.06	77.7	34.1	1,075
Manitoba.....	16,868	38.44	81.1	43.4	946
Saskatchewan.....	16,566	37.30	53.4	42.0	932
Alberta.....	16,445	37.90	77.9	43.5	998
British Columbia.....	28,988	37.17	69.9	40.0	1,024
Northwest Territories.....	23	39.71	91.3	12.6	
Yukon.....	108	38.65	88.9	32.9	
Canada.....	282,584	\$37.21	73.7	43.1	\$ 922

\* Source: *Report of the Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on Old Age Security* (Ottawa, 1950).

† Based on estimated population age seventy and over for June, 1950.

‡ The latest date for which provincial data are available; no data for Newfoundland.

§ Maximum pension of \$30.00 payable.

|| Northwest Territories and Yukon included in data for British Columbia.

thirteen hundred pages, and the final report<sup>16</sup> is a masterly summation of the committee's work. The close and detailed examination of the existing Canadian scheme resulted in a devastating account of the wide and illogical variations which had resulted from provincial administration of the means test set out in general terms in the federal legislation. Particular attention was directed to the

pension authority to ignore earnings and in others brought all earnings into the calculation; and to the fact that, while recoveries from estates were widely regarded as a deterrent to applicants, the actual recoveries from estates, for the fiscal year of 1949-50, were one-half of 1 per cent of all pension payments. The wide variation in the proportions of pensioners to the total population in the various provinces was illustrated by a table, which also showed that, in spite of the stringent means test in operation,

<sup>16</sup> *Report of the Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on Old Age Security* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1950).

43.1 per cent of all Canadians over seventy years of age were receiving pensions (Table 1).

The *Report* concluded from this table, and the point was more fully exposed in the minutes of evidence, that "in general it would appear that under the present legislation the burden of old age pension costs in Canada falls most heavily on those provinces least able to support it."

The *Report* makes reference to the operation of War Veterans Allowances, a supplementary assistance program for veterans of the armed forces, and to the operation of the government annuities under the Act of 1908. It also referred briefly to the growth of employee pension plans, of which they were estimated to be 4,125 in March, 1950, covering 627,000 employees.

The *Report* summarized briefly the evidence presented to it on the pension plans of Australia, New Zealand, Denmark, Sweden, the United States, Great Britain, France, and Switzerland. The memorandums on these schemes, which were printed in the daily *Proceedings*, and illuminated by the cross-examination of the officials of the Department of National Health and Welfare, are excellent and the products of a good deal of objective research. The committee members were left to draw their own conclusions, and the officials gave no indication of their views during the public hearings and made no recommendations. The comparative analysis of these plans laid great stress on the trends toward universality of benefits, flat rates of benefit, simplification of eligibility conditions and of administration, and the financing of pension plans on a "pay-as-you-go" basis.

Very little was received by way of representations from the provinces, and the Joint Committee does not seem to have

encouraged or sought extensive expression of views from them. As the whole question was potentially a hot political issue, this was no doubt expedient. The provinces with governments of the same political complexion as the federal government would hardly have wished to join in public controversy with their federal colleagues, while those of other political affiliations would be unlikely to have wanted to appear in public as delaying a popular and much needed social reform.

The Joint Committee, on the other hand, encouraged and gave substantial accommodation to representations from national organizations. Eight of these organizations were accorded oral hearings in supplementation of their briefs. These organizations fell into four groups: agricultural organizations, labor organizations, business organizations, and welfare organizations. The final *Report* has a careful comparative analysis of the views presented to the committee by these organizations.<sup>17</sup> Certain trends were made clearly apparent in this analysis. Flat-rate pensions, a minimum of \$40.00 a month, at a pensionable age of seventy (though there was strong support for age sixty-five) operated by the federal government on a pay-as-you-go basis, without a means test and financed by some form of contributory device seemed to be the lowest common measure of agreement. Adequate assistance programs were recognized by all the organizations as essential supplements to any universal program, while employee pension plans, government annuities, life insurance, and other forms of personal savings were all recognized as desirable but secondary complements to a government program for income maintenance of old people.

The evidence was completed by sub-

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 67-73.



stantial presentations from a number of individuals with special qualifications: Dr. L. C. Marsh, author of the Marsh report; Dr. H. M. Cassidy, late director of the School of Social Work at the University of Toronto; Professor Lamontagne of Laval University, Quebec; Mr. W. M. Anderson of the North American Life Insurance Company; and Miss Charlotte Whitton, now the mayor of Ottawa. Miss Whitton concentrated her evidence on the need for better social services for the aged, while the other witnesses concentrated particularly on problems of financing any large program. Dr. Marsh and Dr. Cassidy strongly recommended a contributory scheme, while Professor Lamontagne proposed a special social security tax, and Mr. Anderson, while preferring a flat percentage tax on all personal income, suggested consideration of the use of a sales tax on personal spending. The representative from the government's own Department of Finance gave technical evidence on the possible yields of various forms of taxation, including the sales tax, and the Deputy-Minister of the Department of Labour proposed the use of the existing Canadian Unemployment Insurance operation to establish a contributory old age pensions scheme. The Deputy-Minister of the Department of Justice filed a cautious reply on the constitutional position which indicated that any scheme requiring earmarked taxes or contributions would probably require a constitutional amendment.

Social workers will note with interest the very substantial contribution which was made to the evidence by members of their profession. The Canadian Association of Social Workers was the first welfare organization called. It grounded its position firmly on the needs of people. This attitude was well received by the

Joint Committee, one member remarking in the cross-examination, "I think this brief is very refreshing in that it deals with old people as such and not as part of something else."<sup>18</sup> More attention was given in this evidence to the need for careful consideration of how the money was given in an income-maintenance program than to the technical problems of how to raise the money; and stress was laid on the need for constructive social services, such as housing, medical care, geriatric research, and the need for qualified staff to administer any social program. The Canadian Welfare Council's able and comprehensive presentation put the whole question of the needs of old people into perspective as part of a balanced social security program and made a careful analysis of costs of living as a basis of adequacy for any pension rate. It proposed a health or incapacity test rather than a means test for the residual group who would not be covered under a universal federal pension at seventy years of age. Whereas the Canadian Association of Social Workers recommended a contributory program, on social grounds as well as financial, the Canadian Welfare Council was uncertain whether the merits of a contributory scheme, which it faithfully recorded, were not outweighed by the fiscal and administrative difficulties which seemed to the Council to be inherent in a contributory scheme. Of the five persons invited to testify in an individual capacity, Dr. Marsh and Dr. Cassidy were professors in Canadian schools of social work, and Miss Charlotte Whitton had been for a substantial number of years (1925-42) the executive director of the Canadian Welfare Council.

<sup>18</sup> *Minutes of Proceedings, Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons on Old Age Security, May 12th, 1950* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1950), p. 694.

The hearings were well reported in the press, and there is no doubt that a very important educational service was performed by this thoroughgoing inquiry. Members of Parliament and the Canadian people became aware of the fact that the needs of the aged were not simple and that the numbers of older persons were growing steadily. They also became better informed on the complexity, adminis-

TABLE 2\*

ESTIMATED NUMBERS OF CANADIANS OVER CERTAIN AGES IN 1951, 1961, AND 1971

Year	Over 60	Over 65	Over 70
1951.....	1,631,900	1,101,400	674,500
1961.....	1,969,700	1,372,500	869,300
1971.....	2,366,900	1,630,000	1,042,100

\* Source: Extracted from Table VIII, p. 100, of the *Final Report of the Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on Old Age Security*.

tratively and constitutionally, and the very high financial costs, of any substantial new program to meet those needs.

The findings of the committee were, in a sense, the ultimate refinement of the evidence and of the committee's analysis, which have been briefly summarized here.

The size of the problem was shown in the estimated numbers<sup>19</sup> of persons in the older age groups (Table 2).

The committee had been, as the *Report* puts it,

faced with an impressive volume of evidence which demonstrates that old age security does not consist solely of the assurance of adequate cash income to individuals in their later years. Adequate housing, health and welfare services, the availability of suitable part-time occupations for the aged—all these factors enter into the complex picture of the needs of this important section of the nation's population.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> The population of Canada at the 1951 Census is estimated as 14,009,429.

<sup>20</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 101.

The committee in its final opinion recommended a universal benefit of \$40.00 a month payable by the federal government to all Canadians at age seventy, and a means-test pension for those aged sixty-five to sixty-nine up to a maximum of \$40.00 a month, administered by the provinces and grant-aided by the federal government on a fifty-fifty basis. The estimated cost of the whole program was \$388 million for the year 1951, of which the federal government would have to find \$356 million and the provinces \$32 million as against the federal cost of the existing pensions scheme of \$100 million to the federal government and some \$35 million to the provincial governments.

A residence qualification of twenty years in Canada for the universal benefit at seventy and of fifteen years for the old age assistance benefit was recommended.

The committee declared itself in favor of the contributory principle and tentatively suggested a three-way system of contributions from individuals, employers, and the Consolidated Revenue Fund. However, the committee faltered when it came to making any precise recommendations on this subject, although perusal of the minutes of evidence shows that this was a matter to which, whatever the witnesses might think about priorities, the members of the committee directed a major part of their interest during the inquiry.

This unanimous *Report* was a great parliamentary achievement. All the political parties, which had, of course, had representatives on the committee, were willing to accept it. Some gave way on positions previously established in order to achieve unanimity, and all were willing to support a government initiative.

The first stage was the solemn ritual of constitutional change. This is always a delicate matter in the Canadian scene,

where the constitution is regarded by some provinces as a bulwark of inviolable provincial rights against the federal government and where, as a result of the position clearly established in 1925, reaffirmed in 1935, and reiterated to the point of breaking up the Dominion-Provincial Conference of 1945, the veto of a single province is sufficient to prevent any progress. In due course, a federal-provincial conference on this matter was held. After several unsuccessful draft amendments had been rejected by some of the provinces, a provision was added to the British North America Act to permit the federal government to pass legislation for the needs of the aged.<sup>21</sup>

In June, 1951, one year and two days after the Joint Committee had tabled its report, the Old Age Assistance Act<sup>22</sup> received assent. It is an improved version of the previous Old Age Pensions Act, applied now to persons of sixty-five years and resident in Canada for twenty years. The old paraphernalia of provincial legislation and separate agreements between each of the ten provinces and the government of Canada are retained. The provinces are to accept full responsibility for administrative costs, and the federal government will pay 50 per cent of assistance payments up to a maximum payment to the recipient of \$40.00 a month. Income limits are a little more generous, the recipients being permitted an income, including assistance, of up to \$720 a year

for an unmarried person, \$1,200 a year jointly for a married person living with his spouse, and \$1,320 a year jointly for the married person living with his spouse who is a blind person within the meaning of the Blind Persons Act.<sup>23</sup>

Many of the other features, to which the Joint Committee's *Report* drew critical attention, are still there: interprovincial arrangements, permissive rights for a province to recover from the estates of pensioners, property and income calculations, and the rest. The act is so worded that some of the most unsatisfactory features of the old legislation are avoided, and in the regulations there is room for more flexible and less harsh administration. On the other hand, there is no assistance or encouragement to provincial administrations to achieve better standards of performance, and there is no provision for social services, either in the form of federal supervision, other than financial accounting, or in the form of financial encouragement or consultant services to develop co-operation between federal and provincial administrations in giving better services to old people.<sup>24</sup>

The awkward problem of how to finance a universal social security benefit to those over seventy, forecast in the discussions on the Old Age Assistance Act, was still giving the government pause for thought. In November, 1951, the Old Age Security Act<sup>25</sup> was passed and came into effect on January 1, 1952. The social

<sup>21</sup> Great Britain Statutes 14-15 George VI, c. 32, amends the British North America Act, adding a new section 94A, as follows:

#### OLD AGE PENSIONS

94A It is hereby declared that the Parliament of Canada may from time to time make laws in relation to old age pensions in Canada, but no law made by the Parliament of Canada in relation to old age pensions shall affect the operation of any law, present or future, of a provincial legislature in relation to old age pensions.

<sup>22</sup> Canada Statutes 15 George VI, c. 55.

<sup>23</sup> Blind persons were granted pensions within the framework of the Old Age Pensions Act from 1937 onward. They will now come under separate legislation introduced as the Blind Persons Act, which came into effect concurrently with the new old age legislation.

<sup>24</sup> A good example of possible ways of doing this is to be found in the requirement under 1950 amendments to the U.S. Social Security Act that there shall be a state authority to provide for establishing and maintaining standards in institutions which shelter Old Age Assistance recipients.

<sup>25</sup> Canada Statutes 15-16 George VI, c. 18.



security benefits are easily and quickly defined. Anyone who is seventy years of age, who has resided in Canada for twenty years, and who makes proper application is to receive \$40.00 a month until he dies, so long as he remains in Canada. There are provisions to suspend payment to, but to protect the rights of, persons temporarily absent from the country or sentenced to imprisonment for thirty days or more. The administration is in the hands of the Department of National Health and Welfare, whose officials spent the last six months of 1951 trying to insure that, when the legislation was passed, every eligible applicant received his first check in January, 1952. The record of the department in handling family allowances has been repeated and the Old Age Security payments made with a maximum of smoothness in spite of many inevitable difficulties.

The financial problem was not so easily solved. The Minister of Finance introduced the financial clauses of the bill in the House of Commons on October 25, 1951, with the wry comment that, while his colleague, the Minister of Health and Welfare had a pleasant duty, "I am left with the somewhat less agreeable task of having to talk now about how the cost will be met." He estimated the cost of this scheme at \$342 million for a full year. The government accepted the almost unanimous advice of all the witnesses and the Joint Committee in accepting the "pay-as-you-go" principle of finance. This means that there will be no attempt to set up any actuarial reserve fund. The government also rejected any use of the individual contribution, as used in Great Britain, and no individual accounts of contribution to the finances of Old Age Security are to be maintained.

The government, however, was publicly committed to some form of contributory system. They met this commit-

ment by a series of ingenious devices. A fund will be established in the National Accounts, known as the Old Age Security Fund. Pensions will be charged to this fund, and "contributions," specified in the Old Age Security Act and not in the annual Finance Act, will be paid into this fund. These contributions will, in fact, be in the form of earmarked taxes. The pay-roll tax was rejected, and certain existing forms of taxation, already in use as part of the general revenue system of the country, are to be diverted into this fund. These diverted taxes constitute the "2-2-2" formula by which the Minister of Finance claimed to have fulfilled the government's commitment to establish a contributory scheme. Personal income-tax payers will pay a special tax of 2 per cent on taxable income, up to a minimum amount of \$60.00 a year in tax; a 2 per cent tax on corporate profits will be paid into the fund; and a 2 per cent sales tax is expected to produce almost half the total amount required to finance the scheme.

The provinces are now taking action under this new legislation. All the necessary records of the 320,000 pensioners who were receiving assistance under the previous Old Age Pensions Act were automatically transferred to the federal government, and applications were being processed by the federal government throughout the fall and winter of 1951 from the majority of the estimated 380,000 persons of seventy and over not previously in receipt of pensions. Some of the provinces then passed the necessary legislation to enable them to take advantage of the Old Age Assistance Act. In some cases, special sessions of provincial legislatures were held for this purpose. Thus, for example, British Columbia's Old Age Assistance Act received assent on October 27, 1951; Saskatchewan's Old Age Assistance Act on December 5, 1951;

and Ontario's Old Age Assistance Act on September 27, 1951.

The provinces are working on their regulations, and there is little doubt that in the year 1952 most, if not all, the provinces will establish assistance programs for persons between sixty-five and sixty-nine years of age. In this connection, however, there are some very real difficulties. The maximum amount of grant-aidable pension established in the federal act is \$40.00. The previous Old Age Pension had been set at the same figure, and three provinces had paid supplementary allowances. British Columbia has decided to pay a cost-of-living bonus of up to a maximum of \$10.00 a month on a graduated scale to all pensioners. Those who are now to receive the universal pension of \$40.00 a month will be given a cost-of-living bonus of up to \$10.00 a month with maximum allowable incomes of \$720 per year for a single person and \$1,320 a year for a married person whose spouse is living with him. Old Age Assistance recipients will also receive the cost-of-living bonus, above the maximum grant-aidable amount of \$40.00 in the federal act, within maximum allowable income limits of \$720 for a single person and \$1,200 for a married person whose spouse is living with him.

British Columbia has an agreement with the provincial College of Physicians and Surgeons for complete medical care to all persons in receipt of social assistance and has extended the availability of this care to all persons over seventy years of age whose incomes come within the allowable income limits of the cost-of-living bonus. These persons are also covered for Hospital Insurance, which is a compulsory provincial contributory scheme in British Columbia, as well as for optical and partial dental care.

The cost of these services to the province is estimated in Table 3.

Comparing British Columbia's estimated expenditures with those on old age and blind pensioners under the previous legislation, the Minister of Health and Welfare estimated provincial expenditures under the new legislation for old age and blind persons at \$11,556,000 for the fiscal year 1951 and \$13,560,000 for the fiscal year 1952.<sup>26</sup>

TABLE 3

Health services for eligible persons over seventy years of age....	\$ 2,485,000
Graduated cost-of-living bonus for eligible persons over seventy years of age.....	3,351,000
Old Age Assistance for eligible persons sixty-five to sixty-nine years of age*.....	3,336,000
Health services for eligible persons sixty-five to sixty-nine years of age.....	1,151,000
Graduated cost-of-living bonus for eligible persons sixty-five to sixty-nine years of age.....	1,720,000
Total.....	\$12,043,000

\* Estimated at 17,400 persons.

British Columbia has been, in recent years, very far ahead of most of the Canadian provinces in its welfare legislation and organization. Its experience with the new legislation would seem to dispose summarily of the theory, advanced in some quarters, that the new system of old age security would necessarily save the provinces money. Other provinces may find themselves unwilling or unable to design their affairs with so much generosity and may indeed save money by not providing adequate care and services to their new clients among the aged. The new legislation will thus perpetuate in part the unfortunate fact, noted by the Joint Committee, that "the burden of caring for the aged falls most

<sup>26</sup> "Address of the Honourable A. D. Turnbull, Minister of Health and Welfare, to the Special Session of the British Columbia Legislature, October, 1951," *British Columbia Welfare* (Vancouver), November, 1951, p. 8.

heavily on those provinces least able to support it."

Saskatchewan, in addition to passing appropriate provincial legislation to take advantage of the Old Age Assistance Act, has amended its Social Aid Act<sup>27</sup> to permit the payment of supplemental allowances, and regulations have been passed setting the supplemental aid at a flat rate of \$2.50 a month to all persons whose circumstances would have made them eligible for old age pensions under the previous legislation. This province has a province hospital-insurance scheme and a comprehensive medical-care scheme, which will be provided for those seventy years of age and over receiving supplemental allowances to their Universal Pensions. For the present at any rate, there is no provision for supplementary allowances or health care for the sixty-five to sixty-nine group.

Ontario has passed legislation<sup>28</sup> to enable it to pay old age assistance within the terms of the federal legislation. The province had given up its supplementary payments under the previous old age pensions legislation and will probably extend its medical-care scheme to all recipients of old age security (Universal Pensions) allowances and to those who qualify for old age assistance. Medical care under this scheme is organized by the provincial Medical Association and is limited to home and office calls and minimum medication.

While all the provinces have some legislation or provisions for institutional care for old people, this is a type of care to which Ontario, particularly, has been giving a great deal of attention. This is partly due to the strong tradition of municipal administration of welfare in this province and partly to the existence in many Ontario municipalities of older

institutions, previously known as houses of refuge. The province under its Homes for the Aged Act<sup>29</sup> now shares up to one-half of the cost in the building costs of new municipal homes and extensions improving old homes for the aged as well as up to one-half of maintenance costs. The act requires every municipality to provide a home for the aged or to have appropriate arrangements with such a home. This legislation has severely limited the kinds of persons who may be admitted to these institutions,<sup>30</sup> thus preventing their use as municipal catchalls for social problem cases, and has in progress a plan of steady provincial supervision and consultation. A number of new homes have been built throughout the province, some of them being extremely expensive and modern buildings, and a great deal of modernization and re-equipment has been undertaken.

Canada is thus on the way to achieving a new pattern of provision for her older people. The decision to pay a universal benefit of \$40.00 a month to all persons over seventy reflects a new turn in the development of social security plans. It precisely follows the *Proposals of the Government of Canada* of 1945 and ignores the evidence of the Joint Committee and the trend in Great Britain and the United States to develop contributory schemes. The claim that this is a contributory scheme can only be sustained by quoting *Alice in Wonderland* to the effect that "words mean just what I want them to mean," since it is clear that all that has been done is to divert a portion of the national revenue for the payment of these pensions. Students in the United States will observe with interest the adoption of the flat-rate principle of benefits, which follows the reasoning of Beveridge, and

<sup>27</sup> Saskatchewan Social Aid Act, 1947.

<sup>28</sup> Ontario Old Age Assistance Act, 1951.

<sup>29</sup> Ontario Homes for the Aged Act, 1949, as amended.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, sec. 11.

is quite different from the practice in the United States of relating benefits to the previous wage history of the beneficiary.

The scheme has its merits. It is simple, both administratively and financially, since it avoids all the problems of the means test, on the one hand, and the maintenance of contribution records, on the other. The idea of a universal benefit of this kind was suggested once by Charles Booth in the 1890's and has attracted some attention in the United States.<sup>31</sup> More will certainly be heard of this idea of universal coverage when the inquiry, approved by the United States Senate, for further study of social security, gets under way. The adoption of the pay-as-you-go method of financing the scheme does away with the problems of maintaining reserve funds, which are so misunderstood a part of social security financing. The demerits of the scheme are no less evident. Because its financing has been, to all intents and purposes, included in the annual national budget, there will be constant pressures upon the scheme to adjust to the extreme variables of the national economy, and the element of security is somewhat impaired. Since there is to be no direct or apparent relation, for the individual, between "contributions" and benefits, there will be equally constant political pressure to raise benefit rates without regard to the other needs of the social security system. This may, of course, make the system more sensitive to human needs in a time of rapidly changing money values than a system in which a closer relationship exists between contributions and benefits, but it does nevertheless tend to instability. The amounts of money required to finance universal benefits

are very large indeed. Some think that they are so large that it may be difficult for a long time to develop any other substantial social security benefits. If this were to happen, the benefits to the older age group will have been purchased at the expense of the health and well-being of many other equally deserving people in the community. For example, Canada has just taken the first tentative steps toward a rehabilitation program, but it is possible that substantial funds will not be made available for its development in the light of the expenses now incurred on old age security.

From the point of view of good social work, a more serious deficiency is that the scheme makes no national provision other than for money payments to older people. The services that this section of the community so clearly needs are to be developed, if at all, by the provinces. The expense of providing services can be clearly seen in the commitments undertaken by the province of British Columbia. Provinces which do not have the staff or resources available will be unable to provide these services, and the federal government has taken no steps to encourage or help them in this very important phase of care for the aged.

Canada has taken a long stride in the development of an income-maintenance program in a modern industrial society, which has implications for the future of social security. Poor relief developed into public assistance; public assistance has been giving way steadily before the social insurances; now comes a new approach, which may be described as the universal transfer payment. Many countries have used this method to provide family allowances<sup>32</sup> in which all qualified

<sup>31</sup> United States Senate, Committee on Finance, *Hearings on H.R. 6000* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1950), Part II, p. 943.

<sup>32</sup> See *International Labour Review*, LVII, No. 4, 315, and No. 5, p. 456.

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recipients are given the benefits, and the burden of finance falls on the general tax revenues. In the wider field of social security, the same method has been adopted in the British National Health Service. Now the government of Canada has adapted the method to the income-maintenance needs of old people. The adoption of this method makes the separation of social security finance from the annual national budget much less clear and exposes social security programs to new fiscal and political pressures. In view of the increasing proportions of the national income now being devoted to social security, in many countries it is perhaps inevitable that the total costs should come to be more closely related to the national economies<sup>33</sup> of the countries concerned. If this trend is to continue, it will be necessary to work out systematic plans to insure both the protection of the revenues from disproportionate demands and the protection of the social security measures from irrelevant and antisocial pressures.

The separation of money-payment programs from social service programs bears some similarity to the new social security system of Great Britain, where the money benefits are all administered by the Ministry of National Insurance, while the welfare problems are left to the National Assistance Board and to the local authorities.

The continuation of the categorical approach to assistance in the Canadian Old Age Assistance program re-emphasizes all the doubts about the validity of this approach to the needs of people. The need for imaginative leadership in the development of appropriate services of prevention and rehabilitation becomes more

urgent. It is in this area, particularly, that social workers have new responsibilities and new opportunities.

All the reports up to the time of the *Proposals of the Government of Canada* of 1945 stressed the fact that the age of seventy was too high to meet the needs of a large number of old people. The means-test approach was roundly condemned by all the witnesses to the Joint Committee and by the committee itself, but no adequate substitute has been found for it in the Old Age Assistance Act which is supposed to provide for the sixty-five to sixty-nine age group. The extent of the variables in the ten provincial schemes is not yet wholly clear, but undoubtedly they will be as varied as the old schemes for the "over seventies" were under previous legislation. The fundamental characteristics and problems of assistance administration remain largely unsolved in the new old age assistance acts of Canada and her ten provinces.

The time has come to recognize that some form of needs test or means test is inevitable in a social security program. The contributory method, or the universal transfer method, can be, and probably should be, used to provide a minimum income for the largest part of the case load on an automatic basis, with a minimum of administrative machinery and a maximum of predictability. Large-scale systems must, however, base their benefits on average need, and there will always be a residual case load for whom special measures will be necessary. These measures, being related to the need of the individual, can only be provided if some test of that need is applied. The objective should be to develop general programs which will reduce the numbers of those in need of special provisions to the irre-

<sup>33</sup> International Labour Office, *Post War Trends in Social Security* (Geneva, 1949), p. 31.



ducible minimum, and then to devise a socially acceptable test of needs. Any socially acceptable test of needs will require for its administration a highly developed public welfare organization, with adequately trained staff. It would be more fruitful for experiment and study to be given to the search for constructive ways of achieving these ends than to de-

vote time and energy to facile denunciations of the means test.

While Canada's new program represents a new stage in the development of social security plans to match her rapid industrialization, the new legislation poses as many problems as it solves.

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## THE RIGHT TO WORK: EMERGENCE OF THE IDEA IN THE UNITED STATES

PETER BACHRACH

ALTHOUGH the recognition of the right to work<sup>1</sup> was demanded by Horace Greeley and his Fourierite friends during the 1840's and by John R. Commons at the turn of the century, it was not until America was rocked by the Great Depression that the term became meaningful for a broad section of the American people.<sup>2</sup> While the depression was the natural soil for the growth of this right, it was the inherent contradictions of the New Deal work-relief program, followed by the wartime phenomenon of full employment and a rising standard of

living, which developed it to fruition. The purpose of this article is to analyze this development and the decline of the right to work during the postwar period.

### I

The most ambitious and revolutionary work-relief program ever inaugurated by the Roosevelt administration was created before the first year of the New Deal had expired. The Civil Works Administration came into being as a result of an executive order issued in November, 1933. There were three distinct features of this measure: (1) the government committed itself to remove "all employable persons" from the relief rolls—it estimated that there were two million on relief; (2) it promised regular work at regular wages to all persons employed on public work projects; and (3) it offered jobs to two million unemployed workers who were not on relief.<sup>3</sup>

In launching the CWA, President Roosevelt stressed that the new undertaking would abolish the humiliation of the dole in addition to giving employment to two million people who had not yet been forced to ask for a handout.<sup>4</sup> Unquestionably, the President's humanitarian feeling toward the unemployed was sincere, yet it was not the primary reason for the new program. He was

<sup>1</sup> The "right to work" is an ambiguous term which currently has three different meanings: the right to employment; the right to work free from union restraint (see *De Mille v. American Federation of Radio Artists*, California Supreme Court. In Bank. L.A., No. 19, 407 [1947], 13 *Labor Law Reports* 72,361); and the right to work free from discrimination because of race, creed, color, or nationality (see R. Newman, "The Closed Union and the Right To Work," *Columbia Law Review*, XLIII [1943], 42-47). This paper will be concerned only with the positive interpretation of this right, namely, the right of all persons who are able and willing to work to have jobs which afford them an opportunity to utilize their skills and attainments and to make their greatest contribution to the common good.

<sup>2</sup> For interesting passages on the right to work by Horace Greeley see W. A. Linn, *Horace Greeley* (New York, 1912), p. 79, and J. Parton, *The Life of Horace Greeley* (New York, 1855), p. 207. Also see Alfred Brisbane's *Social Destiny of Man* (Philadelphia, 1840), p. 91. A discussion of the right to work by John R. Commons can be found in his *Distribution of Wealth* (New York, 1893), pp. 83-84, and in "Right To Work," *Arena*, February, 1899, p. 131.

The leading European writers on the right to work during the nineteenth century were Charles Fourier (*Social Destiny of Man* [1809]); Louis Blanc (*Organisation du travail* [1848] and his *Socialism: The Right To Labour* [1848]); and P. J. Proudhon (*Le Droit au travail et le droit au propriété* [1848]).

<sup>3</sup> National Resources Planning Board, *National Resources Development Report for 1943* (Washington, D.C., 1942), Part 3, Appendix 5.

<sup>4</sup> *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin Delano Roosevelt*, ed. Samuel I. Rosenman (New York, 1941), II, 469.

keenly aware that something must be done to offset the decline in business activity and the sluggish development of the Public Works Administration. For the PWA was not fulfilling its role as a stimulus to business, as had been intended. The immediate employment of four million workers was the solution. "I came to the conclusion," he remarked in a notation to a speech, "that by shifting to this new CWA . . . a great quantity of purchasing power could be injected into the economic system in a short time. . . ."<sup>5</sup>

The bold experiments inaugurated by the administration, forced upon it by the economic necessity of combating the depression, produced repercussions not anticipated by Roosevelt and his advisers. This was certainly true in the case of the CWA. Although the program did not, in actuality, absorb all the unemployed from the dole, it was nevertheless highly suggestive of the right to work. To any objective observer this would have been apparent at the outset, since its purpose, as officially described, was "to provide regular work on public works at regular wages for unemployed persons able and willing to work."<sup>6</sup> Soon after it was created, conservative congressmen expressed the fear that, if the program was allowed to continue, the four million strong who were given employment would demand, as a matter of right, that their government jobs be made permanent and that those unemployed who were not provided for would pressure the government for an expansion of its program. This argument, according to Robert Sherwood, carried weight with the President.<sup>7</sup> Less than six months after

the CWA was created, consequently, Harry Hopkins was instructed to liquidate it and re-establish the direct relief system of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration.

In explaining why he liquidated the CWA, the President coldly stated that "by the end of March, 1934, it was largely terminated, despite widespread pressure to make it permanent. . . . CWA was relatively costly, when compared with the FERA; and it was abandoned in favor of a work relief program hiring only destitute unemployed on a budgetary deficiency basis. The step was taken as a matter of economy."<sup>8</sup> From this statement one would conclude that Roosevelt had absolutely no feeling for the millions of people who were unemployed; that all he said, when inaugurating the CWA, about the ill effects of the dole upon the American worker and his family was so much political eyewash; that social idealism was too costly and, therefore, must give way to the important consideration of economy.

Yet in less than a year's time the President, in a speech justifying the creation of the Works Progress Administration, declared: "The Federal Government must and shall quit this business of relief. . . . We have here a human as well as an economic problem. When human considerations are concerned, Americans give them precedence. The lessons of history . . . show conclusively that continued dependence upon relief induces a spiritual and moral disintegration fundamentally destructive to the national fibre."<sup>9</sup> While "humane considerations" were now dominant in Roosevelt's thinking—although he was prepared this time

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 457.

<sup>6</sup> F.C.W.A. Rules and Regulations, No. 1, quoted in National Resources Planning Board, *op. cit.*, Appendix 5.

<sup>7</sup> *Roosevelt and Hopkins* (New York, 1948), p. 56.

<sup>8</sup> *Public Papers*, II, 458.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 19–20. Sentences have been rearranged.

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to employ only workers who were on relief and destitute—he had not really resolved the conflict in his own mind between his desire to approach a balanced budget and his desire to help the down-trodden. When he was convinced, as he was in 1933, 1935, and 1938, that the economy needed a shot in the arm, the balance was momentarily resolved in favor of the human factor. But as soon as the economy showed signs of recovery, as it did in 1934, 1936–37, and 1939, Roosevelt was again faced with the dilemma of economizing at the expense of human suffering. For example, in 1936 he recommended a reduction in expenditures on WPA, although his commitment of the previous year to employ all employable, destitute workers who were on relief had not been met.<sup>10</sup> He was never willing in principle to allow the unemployed to rot on the dole; yet under the latter program he was never willing to ask for more than temporary appropriations designed to employ only a minority of those who were unemployed.

On its face the new work-relief program, unlike the defunct CWA, was free from all dangerous implications, since the government recognized only the limited obligation to provide jobs for the unemployed who met the requirement of pauperism. Nevertheless, it was this program which was the basis for agitation for the recognition of the right to work. For, although the WPA was extremely narrow in its application, the President defended it on the principle that the government must provide useful jobs rather than relief.<sup>11</sup> This defense, however, suggested the obvious observation that if this was a sound principle, why should it be limited to only those who are destitute? Why should not all those who are willing and

able to work have the right to work? By restricting the work principle to only one group of the unemployed, the President was caught in an additional inconsistency, since he asserted that the essential purpose of the work program was to "preserve not only the bodies of the unemployed from destitution but also their self-respect, self-reliance and courage and determination."<sup>12</sup> Destitution was made a condition for acquiring a job, and at the same time it was argued that the measure was the declared enemy of destitution. Finally, the fact that the administration consistently failed to fulfil its commitment within the narrow confines of the WPA indirectly added fuel to the demand for the right to work.

## II

Each year the President made it a point to address the Community Mobilization for Human Need. In 1938 his speech was devoted to a defense of the work program and the justification for its continued existence.<sup>13</sup> In spite of his appeal for support, this organization of social workers rejected his program of "giving of jobs instead of relief," with all four hundred delegates voting No. As stated by the chairman of the conference, Charles Taft, the delegates, far from being "economic royalists," were social workers and overwhelmingly supporters of the President. They noted, however, that WPA employed only 2,220,000 workers, leaving at least another 3,000,000 still in need of jobs. Those who were forced on relief were therefore doubly underprivileged: they received less money than those on work relief, and they were officially stigmatized as "unemployables." Consequently, instead of demanding more government jobs as a

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 131.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 143.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 20.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 143.

solution to the problem, the social workers requested a substantial reallocation of WPA funds for direct relief.<sup>14</sup>

What argument could be made by those liberals who defended the administration's work program? How was it possible to defend a policy that gave work to only a limited number of the unemployed while allowing the rest to decay slowly on the relief rolls? The answer, of course, was that such a policy in itself could not be defended. But it was held, especially by Harry Hopkins and his associates, that at all cost Roosevelt's program must not be scrapped, not for what it was, but for what it stood for and was potentially able to provide, namely, the right to useful work for *all* persons able and willing to work. "One of the strongest convictions I hold," Hopkins asserted, "is that the Federal Government should never return to a direct relief program. It is degrading to the individual." Yet, rather than defend the WPA as it existed, he suggested a radical change: "We should do away with direct relief in the United States. . . . We should reach a concept in America where the able-bodied unemployed are entitled to a job as a *matter of right*" [italics mine].<sup>15</sup> Mr. Aubrey Williams, deputy administrator of the WPA, argued in a similar vein, holding that the struggle for the existence of the WPA was more than a fight for the unemployed; it was a fight for the eventual recognition of the obligation of society to guarantee to all workers economic security and the opportunity to work.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> *New York Times*, March 14, 1938, p. 14:3. Also see *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, Atlantic City, 1936* (Chicago, 1936), p. 434.

<sup>15</sup> U.S. Senate Special Committee To Investigate Unemployment and Relief, *Hearings on Res. 36* (75th Cong.), p. 1348.

<sup>16</sup> "The Progress and Policy of W.P.A. Administration," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work* . . . , pp. 444-53.

Others in the late 1930's were convinced that one had to go beyond defending the WPA and demand the immediate recognition of the right to work. Initially, the leadership of the Congress of Industrial Organizations took this position. The headlines of the first issue of the *CIO News* in December, 1937, boldly declared: "CIO Drive for the Right To Work."<sup>17</sup> For the next four months the CIO concentrated its fire on this issue, demanding that "every worker has a right to a job" and that "it is the government's responsibility to appropriate sufficient funds to implement this right."<sup>18</sup> Yet when the President, in April, 1938, defied the CIO's demand by requesting a three billion dollar appropriation, designed to stimulate recovery but only large enough to provide work for approximately a third of the eleven to thirteen million unemployed, the CIO toned down its demand. Labor found itself faced with an awkward dilemma of choosing between recovery or reform. To persist in its demand for the implementation of the right to work—a demand which, if put into effect, would have serious economic repercussions because of the magnitude of unemployment—might weaken the President's hand politically and thereby endanger his recovery program. The CIO was not prepared to take such a risk. It therefore "solved" the problem by supporting the President's recovery program, but on occasion demanded "Jobs for All."<sup>19</sup> Although it was

<sup>17</sup> *CIO News*, I, No. 1 (December 7, 1937), 1.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, February 19, 1938, p. 2.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, April 9, 1938, p. 2. Four months after the administration's recovery measure had safely passed the Congress, John L. Lewis, at the 1938 CIO convention, bravely asserted that the "CIO has continually taken the position that the government has the responsibility to provide work for those unemployed who are willing and able to work" (*ibid.*, November 14, 1938, p. 2). The fact that Lewis, less than six months prior to the convention, had

not until 1944 that the CIO once again seriously pressed for the recognition of the right to work, it continued in the interim to keep the issue generally before the labor movement.

Soon after the WPA was formed, a sizable group of the workers enrolled on the government projects was organized by the Workers Alliance of America. While at the outset this organization concentrated on the immediate bread-and-butter issues confronting its members, it later became highly critical of the WPA itself. In testifying in 1938 before a Senate committee investigating unemployment, Mr. David Lasser, its president, argued that the make-work philosophy of the WPA must be replaced by a plan whereby the unemployed worker could be employed in his trade and the goods he produced used by his fellow-unemployed.<sup>20</sup> The following year Lasser's organization sponsored the Right To Work Congress, where Mrs. Roosevelt, among others, championed this right.<sup>21</sup>

Governor LaFollette's announcement in 1938 of the formation of a new national party, the National Progressive Party, is another example of a liberal revolt against the administration's work-relief policy. After describing Roosevelt's program as "tinkering" with the program of unemployment, LaFollette declared that the National Progressive Party came into being to find some way to provide a job for every able-bodied man and woman willing to work.<sup>22</sup>

persuasively argued that labor was only asking government to provide three and one-half million jobs—when he admitted that there were eleven to thirteen million unemployed—was conveniently forgotten (*ibid.*, May 7, 1938, p. 1).

<sup>20</sup> Senate Special Committee on Unemployment and Relief, *op. cit.*, p. 1038.

<sup>21</sup> *New York Times*, June 8, 1939, p. 9:2.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, June 5, 1938, p. 41:1; also see *ibid.*, February 21, 1938, p. 29:1.

This point of view was also frequently presented in Congress during this period. To the charge, for example, that the WPA was a boondoggling and demoralizing enterprise, more than one member of the House said, in effect, that if people were really sincere in saying that boondoggling demoralized the unemployed, the solution was to allow the unemployed to work in idle factories producing things which they badly needed.<sup>23</sup> And to the charge that the WPA allowed millions to rot on relief, Senator Pepper said that the solution was not to decrease WPA appropriations in favor of direct relief, as the Republicans demanded, but to appropriate sufficient funds immediately to enable the government to provide jobs at prevailing wages for all the unemployed who wanted work.<sup>24</sup>

### III

As early as 1940 the connection between the nation's preparation for war and the right to work became apparent. When the Senate debated the perennial question of WPA appropriations during that fateful year, Senator Murray warned his colleagues that unemployment and destitution were a poor foundation for building patriotism and that, therefore, the right to work must be assured to give meaning to the cause of freedom.<sup>25</sup> It was also observed by Senator Mead that it was highly ludicrous for

<sup>23</sup> Representative Amlie of Iowa, *Congressional Record* (74th Cong., 1st. sess. [1936]), p. 7062. Also see Representatives Jerry Voorhis and Maury Maverick's speeches, *ibid.* (76th Cong., 1st sess. [1939]), p. 7294.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* (76th Cong., 3d sess. [June 15, 1940]), p. 8313; also *ibid.* (76th Cong., 1st sess. [July 28, 1939]), p. 10300.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* (76th Cong., 3d sess. [June 13, 1940]), p. 8165. The Federal Council of Churches, in a Labor Day message addressed to the people of the nation, made the same point (see *New York Times*, September 2, 1940, p. 32).

a nation which was threatened by war to permit a sizable portion of its manpower to remain idle. He felt that every worker should have the right to work so that he might contribute his services to the general welfare of the nation.<sup>26</sup> This was a significant speech, for in the past the doctrine of the right to work was justified on the ground that society is obligated to protect the idle worker from the corroding and demoralizing effects of unemployment. Now for the first time it was defended from the standpoint that society needs the work and services of all individuals.

The interventionist-isolationist controversy, which dominated all other issues in America prior to the war, was another force that brought to the fore the doctrine of the right to work. In the fall of 1939, John L. Lewis, an ardent isolationist, blasted: "Let those who will seek the votes of the workers of America be prepared to guarantee jobs for all Americans and freedom from foreign wars. . . . Labor wants the right to work and live—not the privilege of dying by gunshot."<sup>27</sup> Dominated by Lewis and his isolationist and Communist friends,<sup>28</sup> the CIO continued to play up the right to work in opposition to the administration's "war policy."<sup>29</sup> This same line was adopted by Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana,<sup>30</sup> the LaFollette brothers of Wisconsin,<sup>31</sup> and other liberal isolationists.

The interventionists were not to be outflanked on this point. For example, in his presidential address to the American

Political Science Association, Professor R. C. Brooks gave a moving interventionist speech, in the course of which he advocated a constitutional amendment "whereby every adult citizen would be guaranteed employment at living wages."<sup>32</sup> He argued that such an amendment was essential to escape the "ghastly incongruity" of asking men to risk their lives for a nation that could not guarantee them a chance to make a living.

This problem did not escape the President. For five long years Roosevelt had fought for the policy of providing "work instead of relief" for the unemployed; yet he was never willing, prior to the threat of war, to expand his program to encompass the right-to-work principle. However, when it became imperative to rally the country around the defense program, his position changed. In the summer of 1940 he wrote to David Lasser, president of the American Security Council:<sup>33</sup> "This Administration recognizes that total defense of our shores, our homes, our institutions, cannot be complete until all Americans willing and able to work have a job and a decent standard of living. . . ."<sup>34</sup>

Thus by the beginning of the war the American people were becoming conscious of the right to work, and as the war progressed it became a right which few people questioned.

#### IV

By mid-1943 the lesson of the war unmistakably demonstrated that our economic structure, given a clear and ac-

<sup>26</sup> *Congressional Record*, p. 8231.

<sup>27</sup> *CIO News*, September 9, 1939.

<sup>28</sup> See James Wechter's stimulating book, *Labor Barons* (New York, 1944).

<sup>29</sup> *New York Times*, September 3, 1940, p. 10:5.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, August 31, 1940, p. 18; and January 27, 1940, p. 10.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, April 19, 1939, p. 19; and May 22, 1939, p. 28.

<sup>32</sup> "Reflections on the 'World Revolution' of 1940," *American Political Science Review*, February, 1941, p. 23.

<sup>33</sup> Mr. Lasser formed the American Security Council when he concluded, in the winter of 1940, that the Workers Alliance of America was Communist-dominated.

<sup>34</sup> *New York Times*, August 19, 1940, p. 12.

ceptable objective, could provide continuous full employment with a standard of living far superior to anything we had known in the past. The corollary and by far the more important lesson, however, was the realization that the government's insatiable demand for goods was the force behind this achievement. While some claimed that government pump-priming during the thirties did pull the country out of the depths, its efficacy was far from proved. It took a war to show that the means to a dynamic and expanding economy could reside in government and that this force could be used not only in time of war but in peace.<sup>35</sup>

This parallel of the role of government in war and peace carried considerable punch. Economically, it vindicated Keynesism; politically, it gave added prestige and confidence to those who believed that it was the moral obligation of a democratic government to assure continuing full employment and the right to work. But few during this period bothered to examine some of the inherent difficulties involved in the parallel. For example, in time of war the objective of victory is nationally agreed upon, while in peace the common purpose, if it exists at all, is inevitably disputed by a sizable and articulate minority. And when the minority is business and the common purpose involves reform, are there not fundamental obstacles to the achievement of continuing full employment? Unfortunately, such problems as these were shoved aside until peace, and then it was too late.

The political implications of war-created full employment were world wide in scope. As early as 1942 the British weekly, *Economist*, warned that if liberal

democracy were not compatible with full employment, then liberal democracy would go.<sup>36</sup> Within the next two years the British, Canadian, and Australian governments issued white papers on full employment,<sup>37</sup> and the International Labour Conference, meeting in Philadelphia in May, 1944, unanimously proclaimed full employment as the key objective for all governments after the war.<sup>38</sup> In the United States the National Resources Planning Board was the forerunner in proclaiming full employment and the right to work as national objectives for postwar America.<sup>39</sup> The President was not far behind, for in January, 1943, he translated the famous phrase "freedom from want" into domestic terms as meaning "... the right to expect full employment—full employment... for all able-bodied men and women in America who want work."<sup>40</sup>

As the war drew to a close, it appeared that all groups in the nation, including business, were occupied in constructing plans for maintaining full employment in the postwar period.<sup>41</sup> It is not surprising, therefore, that Governor Dewey emphasized, in his acceptance speech at the Republican National Convention in June, 1944, that the Republicans regarded full employment as the "first objective of national policy."<sup>42</sup> At San Francisco he was so bold as to say that "if at any time

<sup>36</sup> October 3, 1942, p. 3.

<sup>37</sup> For the text of these papers see either: *Senate Hearings before Subcommittee on the Committee on Banking and Currency on S. 380* (79th Cong., 1st sess. [1945]), pp. 86-120; or Alvin Hansen, *Economic Policy and Full Employment* (New York, 1947).

<sup>38</sup> *Record of Proceedings, International Labour Conference* (Montreal, 1944), p. 241.

<sup>39</sup> *Op. cit.*, Part I, p. 3; Part XI, p. 491; *After the War—Full Employment* (Washington, D.C.), 1942.

<sup>40</sup> *New York Times*, January 8, 1943, p. 2.

<sup>41</sup> See Stephen Bailey, *Congress Makes a Law* (New York, 1950), pp. 9-11.

<sup>42</sup> *New York Times*, June 29, 1944, p. 10.

<sup>35</sup> See James Patton, "Federal Government's Role in the Post-war Economy," *American Political Science Review*, December, 1944, pp. 1124-37.



there are not sufficient jobs in private enterprise to go around, the government can and must create job opportunities, because there must be jobs for all in this country of ours."<sup>43</sup>

A casual observer of the 1944 campaign might have concluded that the parties had reached agreement on the question of employment policy. This was far from the case, however, since they fundamentally disagreed as to the role of government in maintaining full employment. Governor Dewey's basic point was that, while it is the government's responsibility to create sufficient job opportunities, it can perform this task adequately only if business feels free "to grow and flourish." Therefore, the function of government is to be friendly toward business—such as repealing "our repressive tax laws"—thereby to "create conditions which will stimulate enterprise to produce."<sup>44</sup> Governor Warren in his keynote address summed it up neatly when he said that jobs for all "can only come in a climate that is friendly to production. And a climate that is friendly to production requires a government that is friendly to production."<sup>45</sup> The President took exception to this view. He held that full employment could be realized only if a vigorous governmental program were launched, including projects of the TVA type, public housing, construction of hospitals and schools, and, above all, the implementation of all the rights under the economic bill of rights. If the climate produced by such a program was not pleasing to business, then business would have to adjust to it. For it was the President's belief that it took more than a "friendly climate" to assure continuing full employment.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, September 22, 1944, p. 13.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, October 31, 1944, p. 41.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, June 27, 1944, p. 10.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, October 29, 1944, p. 34.

## V

The fundamental divergence between the two parties did not become clearly manifest until the opening of the debate on the Full Employment Bill the following year. The purpose of the bill was to "foster free competitive enterprise" and to assure "all Americans able to work and seeking work . . . the right to useful, remunerative, regular, and full-time employment." To realize this "twin objective" the government was committed "to assure continuing full employment" by adopting and implementing economic policy in relation to the annual national budget.<sup>47</sup>

The defenders of the measure emphasized two points throughout the debate, that, if free enterprise is to survive in America, full employment must be maintained and that the assurance of full employment by the government will create the confidence in business needed for it to expand and prosper.<sup>48</sup> Their case was based upon the implicit faith in the inherent health and sustaining power of the free-enterprise system; consequently, they assumed that the government, in carrying out its responsibility, would have to stabilize industry only on occasion and would never be compelled to perform a major operation on the economy in order to sustain the level of full employment.

Senator Taft and his conservative colleagues were not so optimistic. While they agreed that full employment was a worthy objective, they believed that a government guaranty of full employment would have dire results for the free-

<sup>47</sup> S. 380 (79th Cong., 1st sess.), introduced January 22, 1945.

<sup>48</sup> See *Senate Hearings*, p. 37, for Senator Murray's statement and p. 51 for Senator Wayne Morse's views on the subject. For similar expressions by Senators Wagner, O'Mahoney, and Aiken see *Congressional Record* (79th Cong., 1st sess. [September 25-27, 1945], pp. 8955-9052).

enterprise system. Their fears were based on the supposition that the free-enterprise system in the next depression—which they assumed to be inevitable—would not be able to respond to government treatment rapidly or fully enough to satisfy the people. The government would therefore be caught in a dilemma: it would be compelled either to renege on its commitment to foster free enterprise or to renege on its responsibility to assure full employment and the right to work. If it were forced, for political reasons, to fulfil its latter commitment, government operation of privately owned factories and stringent regulation and control of industry would be the probable consequence. The conservatives were not willing to take such a risk. When the depression comes, it is better, they implicitly argued, that it should come without, rather than with, a commitment by the government to assure full employment.<sup>49</sup>

There is ample evidence to show that this view, which was representative of the opposing forces to the Full Employment Bill was primarily founded upon a lack of confidence in the free-enterprise system. In objecting to the fundamental principle of the bill—that the federal government should “assure continuing full employment”—the Republican senators, who were members of the subcommittee which had charge of the measure, filed a minority report in which they stated:

1. The testimony before the committee tends to show that an expenditure of five billion dollars in a single year is probably about the limit we can expect for worthwhile public works. . . . Such a sum might put two and a half million men to work, and there might be 10,000,000

threatened with unemployment. Where would the other seven and a half million men be put to work?

2. If public works cannot supply enough jobs, the President would have to recommend that the Government go into business to compete with private enterprise.

3. While the bill professes an interest in the encouragement of private enterprise, the basic policy recommended is one which will inevitably destroy private enterprise.<sup>50</sup>

This argument is based on three key assumptions: that the free-enterprise system is headed for a deep depression “where there might be 10,000,000 unemployed”; that the government will not be able to prevent it; and, finally, that the government will not be able to revive the economy short of direct intervention. Although the authors of this report<sup>51</sup> held to this pessimistic view—that depressions are inevitable and that the private-enterprise system is helpless to combat them—they took it philosophically. “After all,” the report adds, “there are some things more important than employment. One of them is national freedom.” To the question whether “national freedom” could exist if mass unemployment occurred, the report was silent. It did suggest, however, that the fate of the working class in the next depression will not be intolerable. The unemployed can tighten their belts, move in with their parents and in-laws, borrow from friends, and at worst be provided with relief.<sup>52</sup>

The majority report of the corresponding committee in the House reflected a fear neurosis even to a greater extent than the minority report of the Senate committee. It argued that “full employ-

<sup>49</sup> See *Majority Report of the Committee on Expenditures in Executive Department, House of Representatives* (79th Cong., 2d sess.), pp. 8-10; *Minority Views of the Subcommittee on Banking and Currency* (Senate Rept. No. 583) (79th Cong., 1st sess. [1945]); and *Congressional Record* (79th Cong., 1st sess. [September 27, 1945]), p. 9064.

<sup>50</sup> *Minority Views*, pp. 4-6; also see Taft's speech in the Senate on September 26, 1945 (*Congressional Record*, p. 8959) and his address on the question “Shall the Government Guarantee Employment?” before the National Industrial Conference Board, New York, January 18, 1945.

<sup>51</sup> Senators Taft, Radcliffe, Buck, and Hickenlooper.

<sup>52</sup> *Minority Views*, p. 6.

ment" was a deceptive term, since it "never has been and never will be maintained under our system of free enterprise except in wartime under huge deficits." Therefore, it favored a bill which would be void of all "guarantees or assurances that would destroy the free enterprise system," such as "all Americans are entitled to work."<sup>53</sup>

The Employment Act of 1946,<sup>54</sup> which eventually emerged, little resembled the original bill. The declaration of policy states that it is the responsibility of the federal government to use all practical means to "promote maximum employment," *provided*, however, that the means are consistent with "other essential considerations of national policy," and "in a manner calculated to foster and promote free competitive enterprise." In other words, the government must try to maximize employment only if it can be accomplished without disturbance of the free-enterprise system. If the government fails to provide employment, it cannot be held responsible. Furthermore, even though a depression occurs, the government is not committed to an all-out effort to revive the economy, unless it can do so without injury to the free-enterprise system.

The original bill was based on the assumption that free enterprise is a sustaining and healthy system. Thus it could regard free enterprise, full employment, and the right to work as compatible objectives. In contrast, the Employment Act is based on the premise that free enterprise is inherently weak and unstable and therefore must exclude objectives that could destroy it if the system fails to respond in a crisis. It must

remain free of all potential dangers to its supremacy. For this reason the Congress felt obliged to reject the goals of full employment and the right to work.

## VI

To summarize, the demand for the recognition of the right to work in America during the last twenty years arose as an outgrowth of a series of contradictions. First, the work-relief policy of the New Deal was a compromise between direct relief and a genuine work program for all the unemployed. Although the government never attempted to offer jobs to more than four million of the unemployed at any one time and although the character of the work never succeeded in escaping the criticisms of "make-work," President Roosevelt defended his program on the principle that useful jobs freed the unemployed from the degradation and the humiliation of the dole. This contradiction between reality and principle led some men to fight for the President's program on the ground that its continued existence was the foundation for the eventual realization of his principle, which they interpreted as the right to work. Others rejected this approach in favor of a governmental program that would provide useful work immediately, *as a matter of right*, to all who are able and willing to work. Second, as the war approached, the incongruity between asking men to fight for freedom and the inability of the nation to provide a large number of its citizens with an economic basis of freedom highlighted the need for recognition of this right. Third, as the war progressed, the right to work became more generally accepted, for few missed the apparent contradiction between full employment and a rising standard of living in war and mass unemployment and need in peace.

<sup>53</sup> *Majority Report*, p. 7. The phrase "entitled to work" was substituted for "right to work" by the Senate subcommittee (see Senate Rept. No. 583).

<sup>54</sup> Public Law 304 (79th Cong., 2d Sess.; passed February 20, 1946), chap. 23.

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Nevertheless, the demand for its recognition markedly subsided as America entered the postwar era. This can be explained partially by the continued prosperity that was enjoyed after the war, alleviating much of the economic insecurity and anxiety that were so noticeably evident among government, labor, and business groups during the latter stages of the struggle.

The emergence of the cold war was an equally important factor in causing the abrupt decline of the right to work. The opposition forces against the right-to-work provision of the Full Employment Bill emphasized the fact that this right was a key plank in the Soviet constitution of 1936.<sup>55</sup> To favor the recognition of such a right, the argument went, was to court totalitarianism. This type of syllogistic thinking had its victims among liberals as well as conservatives. For example, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, while serving as chairman of the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations, came dangerously close to subscribing to this view. In an article on "The Struggle for Human Rights" she contrasted the conflicting interpretations of the Soviet Union and the United States of the meaning of the right to work. In opposing the Soviet position that the right to work means the duty to work (forced labor), she held that "we in the United States have come to realize it means freedom to choose one's job, to work as one desires." In her eagerness to express disapproval of the Soviet Union's

conception of freedom, she rejected the principle of government responsibility to assure jobs for all. The nearest she came to acknowledging this principle was when she stated that "people have a right to demand that their government will not allow them *to starve*."<sup>56</sup> Mrs. Roosevelt was unable to reconcile the right to a job and the right to choose one's job. The right to work, as she interpreted it, was synonymous with freedom to find work.

Her position had important international repercussions, since the Commission on Human Rights had recently submitted its draft of the International Declaration of Human Rights to the Social Committee of the General Assembly. Article 21, section 1, of the draft stated: "Everyone has the right to work, to just and favorable conditions of work and pay, and to protection against unemployment. . . ."<sup>57</sup> To clarify the issue as to the meaning of the right to work, the Social Committee revised this article to read: "Everyone has the right to work, *to free choice of employment*. . . ."<sup>58</sup> The committee's revision clearly reflects its belief that the right to a job and the freedom to choose one's job are compatible. The General Assembly approved the committee's draft declaration shortly after it was submitted in December, 1948.<sup>59</sup>

It is to the credit of our democracy that we seriously considered recognizing

<sup>55</sup> See Senator Taft's address, *Shall the Government Guarantee Employment?* before the National Industrial Conference Board, New York, January 18, 1945, and his speech in the Senate (*Congressional Record* [79th Cong., 1st sess.] [September 26, 1945]), p. 9034. The same position was advanced by Dr. E. P. Schmidt, the Chamber of Commerce spokesman, in *Can Government Guarantee Full Employment?* (Washington, D.C.: Chamber of Commerce of the United States, March, 1945).

<sup>56</sup> *Department of State Bulletin*, October 10, 1948, p. 459; italics mine. For an interesting discussion on the "duty to work" between the Soviet and British delegates to the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations see *Committee of Human Rights Draft Commission, Documented Outline* (E/CN. 4/AC. 1/3 Add. 1, 2 June 1947), p. 309, (E/CN. 4/SR. 14), p. 3, and (E/CN. 4/AC. 1/SR. 9), p. 11.

<sup>57</sup> *New York Times*, June 27, 1948, p. 16.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, December 7, 1948, p. 13; italics mine.

<sup>59</sup> *Human Rights: A Symposium Edited by UNESCO* (New York, 1949), Appendix 111, p. 278.

and implementing an economic right that is socialistic in origin and championed by both Socialists and Communists everywhere. It attests to the flexibility and expansive powers of American democracy. Yet the triumph will not be complete until we follow the United Na-

tions' lead by recognizing this right and, in addition, implementing it without destroying the right freely to choose one's job. This is a challenge which must eventually be faced if our democracy is to continue to grow.

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## WAGE LEVELS AND WELFARE STANDARDS

KARL A. LUNDBERG

THAT there is a definite relationship between the general level of wages paid in any community and the welfare standards of that community is by now beginning to be understood. Such relationship is implicitly recognized in the commonly encountered fear that financial assistance can affect the willingness of employable persons to accept the level of wages currently being paid in the community. The pressures that are felt by most public welfare departments against large payments in aid-to-dependent-children cases also is evidence, at least in part, that few if any communities are prepared to approve assistance payments which are much in excess of the normal earning power of similarly situated household heads in the community. Whether or not the converse is also true, namely, that family-income levels of needy families established by the application of public and private standards for financial assistance affect wage levels, is less clear.

The relationship that wages, productivity, and assistance standards bear to each other is indicated by a comparison of assistance payments in high-income and low-income areas. The combined average old age assistance payment of eight of the low-income Southern states as of May, 1951, was approximately one-third of the combined average old age assistance payment of the eleven wealthier states which made payments in excess of \$50.00. The per capita income of ten of the eleven wealthier states was almost double that of the eight poorer states. On

the wage front the available data markedly understate the differences, as the data relate only to industrial employment of which the poorer states, being primarily agricultural, have but little. Agricultural-labor wage levels in turn suffer from the fact that agriculture in these poorer states is relatively low in mechanization as compared with other agricultural states. Average weekly earnings in manufacturing industries in 1950 ran from \$39.68 in Mississippi to \$47.32 in Alabama, whereas in the eleven wealthier states average weekly earnings ran from \$55.62 in Massachusetts to \$70.00 in Oregon. While no reliable information is available on the relationship of the foregoing data to productivity levels, it seems reasonable to conclude that there is at least a rough approximation between over-all productivity and per capita income. There is ground for doubt that the same relationship exists between wage levels in the manufacturing industries of the low-wage states and the levels of productivity existing in these industries.

The startling disparity in assistance payments among the two groups of states is not entirely due to differences in fiscal ability. This becomes even clearer when we examine fiscal effort. Except for such states as Louisiana and Oklahoma, the Southern states, while admittedly of low fiscal capacity, still have been well below the national average in terms of fiscal effort exerted, i.e., the percentage of total income payments in each state which is expended for social welfare.

Data obtained by the Bureau of the Census in its 1942 decennial census of state and local governments indicated a national average of 1.17 per cent of total income payments expended by state and local governments for public welfare, but in such states as Virginia, Mississippi, the Carolinas, Arkansas, and Alabama, the state-local expenditures for public welfare averaged less than 0.556 per cent of income payments—fiscal effort which was statistically only one-half of the national average. (The 1952 figures when available may change this picture somewhat.)

Whether these low-wage states could have expended more money for public welfare without in fact exerting greater fiscal effort than the high-wage states would depend largely on the distribution of income within a state—primarily the ratio of wages and salaries to other income, and the tax structure of each state. Per capita income of a state has progressively less meaning, in terms of effective purchasing power of the bulk of the wage-earners and hence in terms of need for public welfare services, as variations in income between groups of individuals increase. A few high incomes combined with many very low incomes can give an average per person that is very misleading. In general, however, low-average per capita income goes hand in hand with low wages and low productivity.

Low wages, low welfare standards, and low productivity constitute a vicious circle. Each affects and supports the other. Low-wage labor as a rule is unorganized labor. As long as labor is kept from organizing (through fear rather than through superior treatment), employers have less incentive to develop more effective management techniques or instal more productive machinery. How does a community or a state break

out of this vicious circle? Is it either politically possible or economically sound to put upward pressure on wage levels by establishing standards which in public and private agencies result in payments to individual clients in excess of even minimum-wage levels for the community? This is a basic question. Experience has indicated pretty conclusively that it is unrealistic to believe that very many communities throughout the nation are going to accept state standards of assistance that provide public assistance payments in excess of the normal earnings of the lowest-paid individuals in the community. Private agencies as a rule do not suffer equivalent pressures in relation to the amount of the payments made to individuals, but they, like public agencies, suffer the general pressure of insufficient funds.

If it were politically possible to use high assistance standards as a lever to jack up wage levels in private employment, would it be economically sound to do so? The answer would seem to be, No. It would have to be done largely through general assistance. General assistance for employable persons is not a way of life. It does not constitute a settled pattern of living as is the case with old age assistance and aid to the disabled, where eligibility rests on a continuing condition of age or incapacity. Unemployment is assumed to be, and generally is, temporary. The basic dependence of the individual and of society is on private employment. The well-being of the people in our society rests on the extent and productivity of private employment. Public employment, though no less productive, is secondary in the sense that it exists primarily to stimulate, facilitate, and promote the production and distribution of goods and services through private enterprise.

It is conceivable, of course, that the people may, through their government, establish a minimum of purchasing power which every person must possess and establish that minimum at a point which is above that possessed by a substantial number of persons who work for wages or are self-employed. The result would be that some employed persons having less than the established minimum of purchasing power would quit their jobs and apply for such "assistance," and many more would apply for public supplementation of their earnings to bring their purchasing power up to the guaranteed minimum. To establish a program under which even a relatively few of the wage-earner group would shift from productive to nonproductive status is economically unsound. To subsidize low-wage industries or employers by way of supplementation of full-time earnings is equally unsound. It is unsound because it involves a payment to an able-bodied individual for which there is no equivalent value added in production, because it removes the incentive of the employer to lower his costs by improving his production processes, and because it modifies the individual's incentive to improve his situation by joint action with his fellow-workmen. There may of course be isolated instances where a community industry may need to be carried through a temporary emergency and the workers, as a part of the community, accept reduced earnings for a time as part of their contribution in saving a source of employment which is expected to regain its economic health and its capacity to pay a living wage. If welfare standards of financial assistance can in general rise no higher than the wage level of the lowest-paid workers in a community, supplementation of full-time earnings except in individual emergency situations is unlikely—

a right result for an only partly right reason.

If it is neither politically possible nor economically sound to jack up substandard wages by means of higher welfare standards, by what means can the vicious circle of low welfare standards, low wages, and low productivity be broken? Raising the productivity level of a community or an area is a slow business, but it is an essential prerequisite to higher wages and higher welfare standards. One of the factors favorable to a rise in productivity is an active and intelligent labor movement. Where an employer can meet competition by keeping wages low, he obviously has less incentive to adopt efficient management practices. Subject to the economic pressure of labor unions, employers are more inclined to accept participation by the workers in the determination of the value to be placed on each worker's contribution to production. Forced to pay higher wages, the employer is immediately driven to finding ways of making his business more productive. As wages rise, there follows a demand for higher welfare standards that reflect the improvement in living standards resulting from the higher wages.

It seems likely that the organizing campaigns of the AF of L and of the CIO in the South have had much to do with the disproportionately large increase in per capita income of the so-called "Southeastern Area" in the ten-year period, 1940-50, in view of the fact that income payments derived from agriculture decreased in this area during the period. Having to pay higher wages as a result of labor organization undoubtedly puts some businesses under considerable strain. However, if any industry or any individual concern suffers from such permanently unfavorable factors of produc-



tion that a living wage cannot be paid, then that industry or company will and should perish. That means hardship, too: migration of workers or new industries, both of which take time. In the meantime the workers who have moved from substandard wage status to that of no employment at all must be provided with purchasing power; and, in the absence of a program nationally financed to provide assistance to unemployed but employable persons, the issue of welfare standards and wage levels becomes still sharper. Where all or even a part of the burden of providing funds for assistance to unemployed workers falls on the local community, that community will be more insistent on lowering welfare standards as a means of coercing the unemployed to take jobs in which the inadequate wages paid are a measure of the exploitation of individual misfortune rather than of the ability to pay. Not only the worker but the community needs to be insured against economic hazards in which the problems are too big for either to cope with.

We recognized this need in the early "thirties" only after disaster had overtaken us. That experience is not one we should forget. A part of that experience is relevant to this discussion, namely, what we did about the payment of wages to unemployed workers in need of assistance for work performed on public-work projects. More than a decade and a half have elapsed since the beginning of the first federal work-relief program—the Civil Works Administration. We need to consider this and subsequent experience as a guide to better understanding of the future. Magnificent as our economic achievements are and have been, mass unemployment will inevitably recur. We will again be driven to seek ways to provide employment and relieve want. We will

again be faced with the problem of devising a system of pay for work performed which will provide an income to the unemployed that will equate the factors of national fiscal capacity, individual need, psychological damage, and hazard to wage levels in private employment. Up to the time the last of these work-relief programs went out of existence, we had experimented with three kinds of wages paid to workers on work-relief programs. In the CWA the "prevailing wage" was paid—as was true after that time on such programs as the Public Works Administration, which, however, was not classified as a work-relief organization. Following the termination of the CWA, the Emergency Relief Administration came along with another kind of wage, a "budgetary wage." Theoretically this wage was meant to be proportionate to the need of the individual and that of his dependents. As a matter of fact, at no time and at no place were all the minimum essentials of living included in the determination of that budgetary wage. When the Works Progress Administration was initiated, a third kind of wage was brought into the picture, called a "security wage," which was supposed to represent an approximation of need. The term "security wage" shortly became a misnomer. It was intended at the outset that an individual once certified as eligible to work on the program would retain his employment as long as his need continued. Within a very few months it was found that the limitations set by appropriations made such continuity of employment impossible, although the level of the wage had been established in the first place on the assumption of continuous employment. An interesting feature of the "security wage" was that it reflected certain broad geographical differences in wage levels. Here in a nation-



al program recognition was given to the fact that, relatively speaking, there are high-wage and low-wage areas.

In evaluating the merits of the three kinds of wages that have been paid on our work programs in relation to wage levels in private employment, it may be helpful to consider the principle applied by the federal government in its farm-support program. Whenever a surplus is anticipated or appears in any farm commodity, it tends to exert a downward pressure on the market price of the commodity. The federal government then steps in and buys a substantial part of that surplus at the regular market rates in order to sustain prices. The program constitutes recognition by Congress of the fact that if the government did not purchase the surplus or purchased the surplus at below the market price the effect would be to bring that market price down. This action protects the producer of the commodity, the farmer, from the necessity of selling at a price which, in its relationship to commodities this farmer must buy, is considered to be below the reasonable cost of production. This being so, it seems discriminatory not to apply the same principle to surplus labor power. When a government operates a work program to provide employment it is, in effect, purchasing surplus labor power. To make that purchase at a price below the market rate, which means below prevailing wages, is to exert a downward pressure on the general wage level, a pressure which is countered only by the strength of organized labor assisted by minimum-wage legislation.

Historically the trend in work-relief wages was away from a true wage concept toward the close of the programs. The appropriation act of 1939-40 under which the WPA operated provided that in the case of persons without dependents

the hours of work per month, in consequence the earnings per month, might be reduced. So, even in the course of our experience under WPA, we began to move back to the principle of a wage adjusted to individual need. As a matter of fact, a budgetary wage which included all the minimum essentials of living, in the proportions demonstrated by the actual spending pattern of even the lowest-income group of the population, probably would have been higher on the average than the average wage paid on work-relief projects in the last years of the work program. In any future work program the predominant influence in establishing the levels of pay will be the welfare standards, primarily assistance standards, that are in effect at that time. Thus regional differences are bound to be reflected.

It probably would not be sound to argue that wage levels exert predominant influence in the establishment of welfare standards in any direct sense. Public attitudes undoubtedly exert powerful influence, but there is good reason to believe that where wage levels are lowest the most primitive and niggardly attitudes are found with respect to public and private welfare standards, so perhaps public attitudes toward welfare standards and the wage levels of a state or community have a less remote relationship than might be thought. In general the factors of wage levels, public attitudes, fiscal ability, tax structure, and program purposes interact in an obscure fashion to result in average assistance payments, which in the main disregard the level of previous earnings of the individual and fall somewhere short of the wage level of the lowest-paid class of workers—the common laborer. The wage gap between the common laborer and the skilled worker is greatest in the low-wage areas. As

labor organization advances, this wage gap tends to lessen.

As the culture into which a man is born sets the limits of his opportunities, so does the pattern of living established by the wage standards of a community set the framework within which welfare standards must find their place. Many persons concerned with the administration of social welfare programs and hence presumably interested in raising welfare standards seem to be unaware of the role of wage standards in relation to their own program objectives. This may be due in part to lack of understanding of the nature of wages.

In a small self-sustaining community with a simple culture, such as you cannot find in the United States or probably any place in the so-called civilized world, one could conceivably be paid in units of goods or articles one produces or helps to produce. The technical problem of measuring the value of one's output by units of the goods produced which bear no relation to daily or hourly output, or at least a purely fortuitous one, would be very difficult but possibly could be solved. However, having been paid for the week in, say, shoes, one would then be forced to barter for some divisible object of equal value and then seek to barter its parts for the necessities of life not produced in the family circle. Life would be intolerably complex under such a payment-in-kind and barter system. So we have the device of money wages.

The wage a man receives is supposed to represent the value of his individual contribution to the production of goods or services needed by himself and other members of the society in which he lives. The process by which the value of the individual wage-earner's production is established involves a complex set of factors, the most potent of which is econom-

ic coercion. The man who faces hunger if he chooses not to accept a wage which he has reasonable ground for believing does not represent the true value of his production is in fact not a free human being. We have recognized this truth in our welfare programs. We recognize it when we insist on meeting need where need exists even though the individual may be unemployed due to a strike. We recognize it in legislation that permits a beneficiary of unemployment compensation to refuse employment that is not "suitable"—usually meaning at a lower wage. Labor organizations developed as a result of the existence of economic coercion.

Whether their reasons have been sound or not, social workers have quite generally resisted pressures directed toward forcing a person receiving aid to take a job at substandard wages. But these are usually instances of wages which obviously do not represent the individual's true contribution to production within the general wage, price, and profit framework of the community. What is involved when a particular industry or employer pays wages so low in relation to price levels that the earnings of many of its workers must be supplemented by public assistance is less clear.

Supplementation of full-time wages in the absence of extraordinary economic strain such as results from severe or chronic illness or the support of unusually large families is a subsidy to the employer. Such a subsidy is not economically sound. Nevertheless, if supplementation from public funds is needed but not forthcoming, the result is deprivation of individuals from which the whole community inescapably suffers. The business of the social worker is to meet need as he finds it, within the limits of available funds and applicable standards of eligibility. But while the social worker is ful-

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filling his professional function, there is no rule of conduct that precludes him from concern for the community as a citizen. Why are substandard wages being paid in his community? Are the workers being paid less than they could be paid, i.e., is the ratio of gross profits to wages paid disproportionately high? If so, it may be because no organization exists to exert mass pressure through collective bargaining toward a truer wage measure of worker productivity. Perhaps the industry or business is inefficiently managed? Perhaps it is inherently a marginal (high cost) operation? Whatever the reason, whenever workers are paid substandard or "deprivation" wages, it is not only the workers that suffer but rather the community as a whole. The community is yet to be heard from that has become less prosperous as a result of higher wages being paid to its workers.

Changes in the dollar-wage level of a community constitute only one aspect of the significance of wages to the living standards and hence to the welfare standards of that community. In considering the social impact of other aspects, we must emphasize the principle that no fact can be evaluated by itself but only in relationship to other facts. No person should be more appreciative of this than the social worker, whose whole professional technique is based on the relationships of facts rather than the facts themselves as isolated phenomena. The technique of relationships applies as well to economic facts as to the facts of human behavior.

One of the relationships involved is the relationship of dollar wages to the price level. If John Doe is employed in a factory at \$8.00 a day, most of us are likely to think of that \$8.00 as an isolated fact and really all that there is to be known about John Doe's wages. The \$8.00-a-

day wage seems like a fixed and dependable fact on which John Doe can predicate his plans and budget his expenditures, including his gift to the Community Chest. But once we relate John Doe's dollar wage to the price level, we find that his wage is not fixed at all but on the contrary highly variable.

A dollar wage can be meaningless as a measure of purchasing power. Let us assume that John Doe is today receiving \$8.00 a day, as he was a year ago—no change in dollars. But during the course of the year under consideration the average price level has risen by 20 per cent. John Doe today then receives 20 per cent less commodities for his \$8.00 a day than he was receiving a year ago. His true wage as compared with a year ago has been reduced by 20 per cent; his real wage is now about \$6.40 a day—taking the dollar value of a year ago as the measure of comparison. John Doe's standard of living has fallen substantially, while his dollar income has remained constant.

Social workers have good reason to understand that when prices go up purchasing power goes down unless dollar income goes up proportionately. To measure individual economic well-being in terms of dollar income is as misleading as to say that 100 per cent of need is being met when that need is calculated on 1945 prices. Because of this professional awareness of the significance of price changes, social workers have tended to be much intrigued by the increasing use of cost-of-living escalator clauses in union contracts—particularly among unions organized on an industrial rather than a craft basis. That the principle will be further extended seems likely. A bill was introduced in the last session of Congress to add such a provision to Title II (Old-Age and Survivors Insurance) of the So-

cial Security Act. Whether or not cost of living escalator provisions have been proposed for inclusion in state public assistance appropriation acts the writer does not know. Few if any states have "open-end appropriations" for public assistance. Favorable consideration of such proposal seems therefore unlikely.

There is a very real hazard involved in tying either wages or the benefits of any welfare program to the price level irrespective of any arguments about the validity of the price index maintained by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The danger lies in the possibility of permanently fixing wages and benefits in accordance with the relationship that existed between the wages or the benefits and the man-hour productivity experienced at the time the cost-of-living escalator clause was applied. The increase in Old-Age and Survivors Insurance benefits effected by the 1950 amendments to the Social Security Act was accomplished by the method of increasing the maximum wages subject to employment tax and altering the formula for computing benefits, but the result was merely to adjust benefits to the 1950 (as compared with 1937) price level. Should a cost-of-living escalator clause be included in Title II, Congress would probably feel that there was no longer any need to give periodic attention to adjustment of benefits, and the factor of increased man-hour productivity might well be permanently ignored. As man-hour productivity has increased about 2 per cent a year for the last forty years, it is clear that to leave this factor out of consideration is an extremely serious matter in terms of the economic health of the nation.

For an analysis of the nature and the importance of this factor let us return to John Doe. Let us suppose that at the end of the year under consideration John

Doe's daily wage is raised from \$8.00 to \$10.00. His dollar wage is now \$10.00; his real wage, i.e., the dollar wage adjusted to the previous price level, is approximately \$8.00—where it was a year earlier in terms of purchasing power.

But another factor has entered into the situation—the factor that brought about the increase in this man's daily wage. The management of the factory in which John Doe works had installed labor-saving equipment by means of which this worker's productive capacity was increased by 100 per cent. Instead of turning out four complete units of production as he did when he received \$8.00 a day, John Doe now turns out eight units of production. His wage has been increased from \$8.00 to \$10.00, or 25 per cent, but man-hour production has been stepped up by 100 per cent. Obviously, John Doe could not expect to receive a wage increase equivalent to his increase in production, as machines must be paid for and capital invested must have a reasonable return; but, obviously also, John Doe has suffered a loss in relation to the other components of the selling price of the product. Assuming that John Doe's previous wage of \$8.00 a day represented one-half of the manufacturer's selling price of what he produced, that proportion, disregarding, for purposes of illustration, the use-cost of the new machinery, would be maintained after his production is increased 100 per cent in quantity while his wage rises just 25 per cent in money, only if the selling price to the consumer is reduced accordingly. If the price to the consumer is not reduced but remains the same after this increase in John Doe's quantity production has taken effect, we find that, despite the \$2.00 a day increase, John Doe's wage in relation to production has fallen. The previously existing wage-price-profit re-

lationship has been readjusted to John Doe's marked disadvantage.

Where the labor cost per unit of production is reduced through the installation of labor-saving machinery and the saving over and above the use cost of the machine, including reasonable return on capital invested, is not passed on either in the form of increased wages to labor or in lower prices to the consumer, or both, the inevitable result is that a lesser proportion of the consumer's dollar goes into wages and a larger proportion goes into operating profit. The significance of this in relation to unemployment and individual need is that wages, constituting generally the lower-bracket incomes, are for the most part spent in full immediately for current living expenses; they are at once turned into consumption channels and thereby return to production. An immediate and dynamic relationship is maintained between production, wages, and consumption. This, however, is not true of that part of the consumer's dollar which goes into profits; for profits which go into dividends, interest, large salaries, and bonuses constitute that part of the national income out of which comes most of our total individual savings. The individual savings of the nation are not always, or in their entirety, fed back into production through investment, because industry no longer needs new borrowed capital to the extent it once did.

The relative wage of workers *in the mass* is at its economic maximum when all savings are immediately drawn back into the financing of activities that directly or indirectly affect production; such a condition presupposes full use of our productive capacity. An accumulation of individual savings much in excess of the needs of business for new capital signifies a reduction in the capacity of workers in the mass to buy back what

they have produced in the mass. The annual accrual of unused savings in a normal nonwar situation measures to a significant degree the extent to which the relative wage of workers in the mass has fallen below its economic maximum. The extent to which the relative wage of workers in the mass falls below the economic maximum determines eventually the extent of unemployment. Unused savings, i.e., unused capital, play no part in the production of goods, the distribution of goods, or the consumption of goods—the processes through which men are employed and living standards are determined.

It is essential that industry continue to increase its productivity by means of improved machinery and constantly expanding use of mechanical power in order to establish the potentials of rising wage levels and rising welfare standards in terms of purchasing power. Labor must constantly press for realization of those potentials, must participate in establishing the wage value of the individual worker's contribution to production in order to receive its fair share of that part of the reductions in cost effected by mechanization which is not represented by reasonable use-cost and by reduction in prices to the consumer. The individual standard of living of every worker and hence the extent of his dependence on welfare programs is determined by his real wage; but the relative wage of workers in the mass, that is, the ratio of wages to value of production, determines whether or not the workers will continue to be employed. The status of wages in their context of relationships would therefore seem to be of considerable importance to all who are engaged in the administration of welfare programs.

WASHINGTON, D.C.



## FAMILIES WITH SERVICEMEN OVERSEAS

HAROLD H. PUNKE

**I**N VARYING degrees it seems to be the policy of the American armed forces to permit family men in overseas service to have their families with them if possible—that is, in the theater in which the men serve. Some of the major justifications and objections regarding this policy should be understood by the American people.

### JUSTIFICATION FOR KEEPING MEN AND FAMILIES TOGETHER

An important reason for permitting servicemen to have their families with them as much as possible is that of civilian and military morale. When a man in service can at frequent intervals renew his contacts with his family, he knows firsthand how members of the family are getting along and what their troubles are. If the family can be assured reasonable safety, with health provisions and educational opportunity for the children, it is easier than it would otherwise be to convince the serviceman of the reality of preserving American home and family life as a goal in the struggle. During the hours when the man is free from duty he can be with his family, do much of his recuperating, secure much of his recreation with the family group, and, in general, maintain his interest and identity with that group. These experiences supply much of the civilian attachment which military life is ordinarily thought to sever for the common soldier and which has produced a great deal of dissatisfaction and indifference in many enlisted men and in some officers. Such experiences also provide satisfaction for the

family—a feeling of belonging, being wanted, fulfilling a need in the life of the husband and father. Moreover, if the immediate family of the serviceman is happy and fairly well adjusted emotionally, the wider range of kinfolk and friends will reflect this situation. Hence from the standpoint of both military and civilian morale, much can be said for keeping men and their families together—particularly in a society which emphasizes the importance of home and family life as much as we in the United States say we do.

Another justification for keeping servicemen and their families together, similar to that of morale but sometimes not thought to be adequately included in most conceptions of morale, is that of personal morals. Part of the concern on this point relates to morals in the sense of sex and to the prospects for developing promiscuity, contracting disease, becoming selfish with respect to one's own physical gratification, and in other ways accumulating a deposit of antisocial personality elements that become handicaps to subsequent social adjustments in fairly normal civilian life. Other aspects of concern may relate to nonsex habits of transient personal satisfactions and to indifference to activities and interests that are likely to be of long-range importance. Liquor habits are often mentioned in this connection, as well as habits related to gambling and honesty or to general dissipation and neglect. Such habits by no means necessarily or always develop among men in the armed forces. However, they do appear quite often, and



many people think that they are more likely to develop under conditions of military life than under civilian conditions. One important factor in the development of such habits is a high degree of self-centeredness, with interest in immediate survival and in immediate "satisfactions" and "enjoyments" while survival lasts—to the gradual exclusion of other interests and the disintegration of other habits. Probably much of this self-centeredness can be avoided if a man has frequent contact with his wife and children. Each such contact renews in him a sense of the existence of others who are personally important to him and to whom he in turn is personally important. Such contacts do much to prevent one from becoming a "mere statistic" with a serial number. Morals in the foregoing sense may greatly affect family stability as well as other aspects of community structure which rest substantially on the family—during both the war emergency and whatever period of the prewar or postwar adjustment might be involved.

A further justification for keeping servicemen and their families together whenever possible grows out of the democratic philosophy of social organization. This philosophy demands that both the satisfactions and the burdens of society be shared by all its members in some sort of balanced or equitable way. No society could be called democratic in the foregoing sense which imposes upon some particular sex or age group the major burdens of keeping that social order in existence at the same time that it allows other groups to enjoy home or vocational life in a fairly normal manner—and even to accumulate riches or political power through exploiting those who carry the major burdens indicated. Allowing married men whenever possible to have their families within reasonable distance of the

places where the men are stationed is a move in the direction of sharing defense burdens. So, too, is the rotation system, by which overseas personnel are brought home at intervals, while others take over their tasks abroad. Rotation allows these persons, married or single, to renew contacts with home folks and friends.

Efforts to reduce the number of family men who enter the armed forces as enlisted men or to exempt entirely men who have children may seem administratively opportune at a particular time, because of voting pressures which family men may be able to muster or because of complications involved in any rotation or family living arrangements such as those previously suggested. However, reducing or eliminating the military responsibility of family men increases the responsibility and burden on others—probably on a yet smaller segment of the population. It is difficult to see much democracy or basic human justice in requiring the young single men within a narrow age span to bear most of the burden of fighting the nation's military battles—battles and wars which in many instances are outgrowths of the stupidity and selfishness of older members of society, both sexes, who have so directed the nation's affairs as to get us into wars. The fact that nobody in the entire nation with adequate insight was able to rise to power at a time when developments leading to open conflict might have been redirected hardly justifies drafting a small segment of the population to bear the major burden of the general error or indifference which led to the crisis. Forcing single men to bear the brunt of military responsibility might temporarily stimulate the marriage rate or might make it easy for other groups to continue their home and vocational lives relatively undisturbed, but that does not imply any corresponding

expansion in basic justice within a democratic society.

Rearing a family is clearly the carrying of a social responsibility and the rendering of a service to the nation. How the degree of responsibility involved compares with that involved in military service to defend the nation will vary greatly with circumstances. But the fact that some men in a particular age bracket have assumed some degree of family responsibility is hardly justification for long separation of other men of that same or a younger age bracket from civilian contacts and for thereby doing much to prevent the latter from establishing anything which approaches normal home and family life. A really democratic society should be sufficiently creative to find a more equitable way to distribute the burdens which result from the existence of that society.

The foregoing comments do not imply that a democratic society can defend itself without personnel for military service. However, those comments are intended to imply that in America there is much room for improvement concerning the distribution of personnel and other war burdens among the total population. Only when a society is making a continuous effort to improve its nondemocratic practices can it convince an alert citizenry that it is making a conscientious effort to foster democratic ideals. When alert and informed citizens are convinced that such an effort is being made, there is little problem regarding morale.

#### OBSTACLES AND OBJECTIONS TO KEEP- ING SERVICEMEN AND THEIR FAMILIES TOGETHER

Perhaps the major obstacles and objections to the rotation or family programs suggested can be grouped into four categories of somewhat varying importance. One category relates to cost and

financial outlay—with taxes to raise the funds involved. It seems apparent that a military program which provides for rotating personnel after a few months' service in an overseas theater will demand the training of more people than would be needed if no rotation program was followed. This means more facilities and personnel for the training program, as well as more people for the combat or other rotation services. One might expect pay for military personnel and the cost of training facilities to be proportional—and expect transportation cost to be involved in hauling the extra people back and forth. From the standpoint of transportation and several other cost items, the situation would be much the same regarding family programs. Substantial complaint about dollar cost might be expected from some "taxpayer organizations"—as some complaint is heard from such groups whenever taxes for any purpose are suggested. However, with the income and profit levels as high as they are now in this country, the added dollar cost of the rotation or family aspects of military programs would not be the major obstacle. The personal sacrifice and inconveniences placed upon taxpayers, in most instances, would be small compared with that placed upon men who are drafted into military service.

In several instances it may be physically impossible to provide the facilities needed for a rotation or family program. If distances are great and combat operations are on a large scale, the country simply may not have enough transport facilities to permit such a program and may be unable to produce such facilities at the same time that it produces other needed materials. Available housing or available materials and labor for housing construction will usually affect the extent to which families can live near the place where servicemen are stationed. In some

instances the line of battle may not be sufficiently stable for military leaders to know where it will be by the time families could arrive and become settled or how long it might remain stable after the families do arrive. Aside from danger to family members, the proximity or attachment of numerous civilians of this type might greatly reduce the maneuverability of military forces. Hence a shortage of physical facilities for a rotation or family program may be a more fundamental obstacle than dollar cost. Dollars must be transformed into goods and services before they become usable resources—in war or in peace. There may be a larger element of personal opinion with regard to whether a program costs too much in tax dollars than with regard to whether the needed material resources and personnel are available.

Emphasis is sometimes placed on the physical dangers to families of servicemen through moving successively from one post to another or through being stationed at some fairly advanced position. Related to this danger is an added burden on the armed forces to furnish military protection as well as needed supplies and services for these families or to evacuate them if it seems impossible to give them adequate protection where they are stationed. Certainly it should require no elaborate explanation to make the wives of such servicemen, and probably the children who have reached adolescence, realize that in times of international conflict or tension life at advanced military posts is not likely to be so safe from enemy attack as life in the middle areas of the North American continent. Nevertheless, some briefing and preparation for a family regarding specific hazards of the area to which it may go should be in order.

On the other hand, there is no particular value in exaggerating whatever fears

women might have with regard to living at places where they could carry on something approximating normal family life—and certainly no value in instilling such fears. Historically American women have not been sissies or weaklings. They went with their husbands and families through the pioneer life that gradually pushed the frontier across the continent. From the early settlements on the Atlantic Coast until the frontier reached the Pacific Ocean, this adventure involved hazards. There was danger of famine and disease as well as winter cold and danger from Indians or from treacherous white people who might attack their settlement and kill their menfolk and possibly themselves and their children. But the women climbed into the covered wagons and went with their men. Similarly in modern times American women are employed as civilian workers in several of the "danger spots" of the world, for the government and for private agencies, and apparently have no tremendous anxieties about it.

Related to the danger argument is another consideration: that of developing a social structure, for wartime as well as for peacetime, which makes it possible for women to share more fully with men the burdens and tribulations that accompany national crises. The growing extent to which women are coming to participate in the work of the armed forces is a gesture in this direction. As women enter more and more different types of positions in military life, including those with greater hazard, they will increasingly share the type of emergency burden noted. The same applies to wives who come with their children to live near the places where their husbands are stationed. Sharing such hazards with men on a more equal basis seems a logical aspect of a growing sense of equality between the sexes in this country—with

equality relating to responsibility as well as to opportunity.

However, in relation to hazard considerations, as in some earlier considerations, a note of reason should be kept in mind. Accepting women into the armed forces or providing for women to move around over the world with their husbands who are in service are rather new ventures in American military history. Hence it is probably wise to proceed on a step-by-step basis, as experience is accumulated and evaluated. Moreover, it must be recognized, from the equality standpoint, that it is usually possible to do things in one theater of operations which would not be physically possible in another theater. For some time this will probably continue to be true with regard to many operations other than those concerning women in the armed forces, rotation plans, or the families of servicemen.

It is conceivable that, if there should be a large number of families moving around from place to place outside the United States so as to be with servicemen, there might be a good many women withdrawn from the nation's labor force, with industrial production at home reduced somewhat as a result. However, if these women have children to care for, their participation in the labor force might be rather limited even if they were in continental United States. Should such a factor concerning the labor force arise, its importance would have to be evaluated in relation to the moral values for servicemen in having their families with them—the same as transportation, dollar cost, or other aspects of family programs would have to be evaluated.

A somewhat selfish note is sometimes sounded in connection with the determination of policy regarding families being with servicemen. The note is that members of the "policy-making brass" might

for personal reasons not want their own families in the theaters in which they serve, and, to avoid the need for any embarrassing explanation regarding their families, they formulate a policy which frowns on the practice. However, this point is probably of no great importance from the standpoint of general military practice.

#### AMERICAN WORLD-WIDE MILITARY OPERATIONS AS A FOLK MOVEMENT

By the "accidents of history" the United States, as one of the least aggressive and warlike among large nations, may find that through military operations it is becoming engaged in a world-wide folk movement. Several aspects of present military and related developments appear significant in this connection. In the first place, the American army is mainly a citizen army, with few professional soldiers in the sense of a large permanent officer class or standing army. A second point relates to intermarriage between Americans serving overseas and natives of the various areas in which they serve—Germany, Austria, Italy, France, England, Australia, Japan, etc. Part of these Americans settle in the countries of their spouses, and part return with their spouses to the United States. In either case there is considerable mixing of cultural backgrounds, which is more extensive than that associated with biological mixing outside of wedlock and family development.

The foregoing aspects of cultural and biological mingling are not new. For centuries they have accompanied conquests, invasions, and large-scale migrations. However, something that is new may be developing out of long-range programs of occupation and out of working with former enemy peoples as well as former allies

on a basis which involves a much higher degree of "voluntary co-operation" on the part of defeated nations than has historically been the case. Reducing the revenge element in postwar dealings with defeated nations should reduce their resistance to the cultural influence of the victors. History supplies numerous instances in which persecution and exploitation of conquered peoples by their conquerors has tended to solidify and help preserve the conquered people—e.g., the Jews, from antiquity down into recent times; the Baltic States, Poland, and southeastern Europe in recent centuries; the French in parts of North America; and perhaps the American Indian in the earlier history of the Americas.

The American cultural influence may become particularly important if a long period of military or semimilitary occupation is accompanied by extensive economic and technical aid in the development of the occupied areas and in raising the level of material existence of the common people of those areas. Social psychology is such that people become receptive to the cultural influence of their benefactors—receptive to the language, customs, and social values of peoples who can achieve more in a material sense than the conquered group and who are sufficiently magnanimous or have sufficient insight to strive for the types of association with former enemies which are more inclusive and which promise greater reward than the temporary satisfactions of revenge. In spite of the efforts of Jesus and other great teachers, human beings generally seem slow to learn that most people do not like their torturers—whether the torture is based on economic, religious, racial, linguistic, political, military, or other considerations. In many parts of the world the ruling classes, who have had their egos inflated through

power rather than their insights developed through responsibility, seem particularly slow to grasp this point.

In some respects the spread of American military and cultural contacts over other parts of the world resembles the British colonial empire of an earlier day. However, an important difference seems to relate to the motive or ideology behind the spread. Economic gain is a motive in considerable of the American effort, but it appears less dominant than in the earlier English situation. Moreover, the American approach at the present time assumes that in the long run the best way for Americans to help themselves, economically and otherwise, is for them to aid other peoples to improve their own levels of material and cultural existence—peoples with whom the Americans must associate—and then to reap some kind of reward through an improved or enriched association. During its long colonial history England learned a few things about building up rather than exploiting subject peoples, in apparent contrast with such other colonial countries as Spain; but events during the last two decades in the Near and Far East suggest that the learning has been taking place too slowly for the tempo of the modern world.

In a substantial measure present American military and technical occupation and aid programs can be looked upon as a movement for geographical extension of the frontiers of democratic ideals and the related principles of security. Democratic principles of personal freedom, equality, and security are aspects of civilization which tend to grow slowly at first—until the masses of the people become accustomed to exercising power under law for their own betterment. However, after these principles



have once become firmly rooted, their basic aim of improving the lot of the common man should enable them to weather severe storms. Hence to the extent to which the military occupation and technological efforts of the United States, and the other effective members of the United Nations which have similar goals, foster democratic principles such as those suggested the United States may in the long run exert a much more important cultural influence in the world than that exerted by the British Empire. Among the more important aspects of this American influence will probably be a further spread in the use of the English language, a spread of technology and faith in experimental science, and a

spread of democratic ideology and practices. Much depends on three points: duration of the various programs of military occupation and technological aid in different parts of the world; adequacy of military power on the part of ourselves and friendly nations so that hostile nations cannot drive us from present areas of aid and occupation or prevent the extension of aid into new areas; and further development of democratic ideology and practice in the United States so that there will continue to be a source here from which other countries can secure inspiration and guidance, as well as some types of material help.

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## GROUP-WORK PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT IN HOMES FOR THE AGED<sup>1</sup>

HERBERT SHORE

SOCIETY and its social agencies have in the past few years discovered the aged. The rude awakening to the fact that there are, and will be, greater numbers of older people and that these older people will be here for longer periods of time has hastened the desire to "do something" for them. The result has been that programs have grown up generally without being well planned. Older people in the community have had certain facilities made available to them. Those in institutions, though a part of the community, have not had, for a variety of reasons, the opportunity to participate in these programs. In consequence, institutions have had to develop their own programs. This has led to the increasing number of requests coming to our home from interested persons, lay and professional, and from homes all over the country and world pointing up the need for, and accentuating the paucity of available material on, group-work programing in the homes for the aged.

Sometimes what is requested is a mere check list of possible activities, with little or no interest in the philosophy (or the techniques) behind these activities. More often the information desired is: How is a program in the home different from a Golden Age Club program. In what way are their programs alike? Should there be a club in the home? Where do we begin?

<sup>1</sup> Prepared for the Institute for Administrators of Jewish Homes for the Aged. Sponsored by the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds held in Chicago, Illinois. Presented Wednesday, August 29, 1951. The author is assistant executive director, Drexel Home (home for aged Jews), Chicago, Illinois.

What kinds of things can I do? How do I know whether the program is right? What should my objectives be? Is a home program a practice of group work in an atypical setting? Should the group worker be on the staff of the home or on the staff of the community center?

We are aware of the fact that each situation is unique, each home is different in philosophy of services, in size, in facilities, in length of experience in programing, in available staff, in traditions of auxiliaries and volunteers. All these factors should be considered in determining the kind and intensity of program.

This paper attempts to analyze program area and needs, to describe comprehensively what is being done, and to suggest things that could be done. It is not intended as a bible or a blueprint. There are few hard-and-fast rules, as situations vary and change—in homes within the same city and from city to city.

One working in a recreation program in a home must recognize an integrated pattern of the objectives of group work as they relate to the objectives of the home and its administration. One is aware that in the home there are special problems, that the group-work program is not a separate entity and is not isolated from the other work of the home and its functions.

The objectives of a group-work program are service to the individual, to the group, to the home, and to the community. Group work in a home, however, is practiced in an atypical setting. As such, it is important to examine those factors

of institutional life peculiar to homes for the aged, to establish the difference between a home and other types of institutions and community agencies, and to determine how these factors affect the recreational program.

First, the population of a home is made up of residents who voluntarily come seeking a place to live and who are in need of care. Second, except in a few isolated cases (when they voluntarily leave or have to be moved to state hospitals), the residents then spend the remainder of their lives in the home. The focus is not primarily corrective, as is a children's setting for delinquents or a mental institution.

Nor is it custodial, as in a veterans hospital, but instead it offers a protective environment, in which, given certain care, residents are capable of continued functioning. At the same time, we recognize that the resident population of the home generally is probably made up of groups of individuals who are less well both mentally and physically than a similar group of individuals functioning outside the home. Not only the focus of a home is different, but also the setting and physical plant. Since these residents have already had their family life, there is no need for a cottage system with "parent-figures," and, except for realistic shortages of space, the group-living aspect is confined to one roommate (a situation which has as many positive aspects as negative). Of necessity, then, the role and function of staff outside the professional group are different from other institutional aspects.

There are institutions which remove the individual from the community, in contrast to a progressive home, which will desire to integrate the resident into the community. An institution is a microcosm of a community, in that the community includes all fields of social work

and any number of social-work disciplines are used. The practice of group work, case work, administration, and psychiatry can be found in various relationships and proportions, depending upon the work and objectives of the agency.

With our greater awareness and concern about the breakdown in family life, we see the place of the institution in filling the gap and meeting needs as functional. At the same time, the institution assumes responsibility for the entire functioning of the individual.

#### INSIGHTS GAINED FROM COMMUNITY CENTER WORK

One must consider, too, the fact that a home program resembles an everyday, all-day center, the essential differences being that the program in the home is often the only source of stimulation for residents, while members of a "center" in the community may have several sources. We must recognize that, though one comes voluntarily to the home and to the program, he does not come to a "natural homogeneous" group. He enters various groups, composed of individuals with varying backgrounds and varying needs. Therefore, the program must be developed for an unrelated group.

Certain other insights may be gained by examining differences that exist in community centers and in a home program. In group-work agencies, club work as now practiced consists of a weekly meeting, generally of two hours' duration, in which the members participate. These meetings usually are held from September through June. The worker utilizes his knowledge of interaction and group dynamics, "trusts the process," and hopes to see the fruits of his labor in individual and group development.

In "group-living" situations ("camping" approximates institutional life in

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this respect) more can be accomplished in a two-week period, in terms of intensification of interaction, group experience, and program, than in a period of two years on a once-a-week basis.

In work with younger people where so many "influence attempts" are operating at the same time, the weekly experience is enough. With older adults the intensification of program serves as the sole source of stimulation and as a substitute for these "influence attempts."

In work with a youth group we have highly defined age ranges, and the groupings span very few years at a time (i.e., six- to eight-year-olds, ten- to twelve-year-olds, sixteen- to eighteen-year-olds, etc.). In work with older adults we may service a group whose range is thirty years (sixty- to ninety-year-olds) or more generally twenty years (sixty-five to eighty-five). This is an area requiring more attention for clues in programing.

#### INSIGHTS NECESSARY FOR THE INFIRMARY PROGRAM

Perhaps the most unique aspect of the program is its concern for the infirmary residents. Of the infirmary group it must be pointed out that all patients have certain characteristics in common. The feelings of patients are intensified by illness. They are (like the others) involuntary members of groups, have an even greater abundance of forced leisure time, in addition to physical or emotional limitations, many of which are irreversible in nature.

Program activity has its effect and helps even if this means maintaining a patient at a certain level and keeping this patient from becoming worse. It is geared to stimulate the patient, to give him incentive to recover, and to assist him in overcoming or adjusting to his handicap. One is often confronted by withdrawal and lethargy as patients are usually fully involved with their own problems.

In settings where there are large wards, there is need for individual attention as well as greater group focus. Some homes have recreation programs, but no group work is practiced. Knowledge and the use of skills can help a recreation program have greater meaning for the patient as well as the resident. These programs will not alone solve the deep emotional problems resulting from prolonged illness and confinement and should incorporate the doctor, nurse, physical therapist, occupational therapist, and case worker.

Time, unfortunately, does not permit a thorough examination of those factors in our society which "create psychological aging," strip the older person of his former adequacy, and take their mental and physical tolls, of the rejections by family, and, finally, of the emotional trauma which accompanies entering an institution. Yet one cannot really develop a program without a fundamental understanding of these deprivations and sufferings and of the meaning of these adjustments to the individual, to the way in which dynamic factors of group living affect them, and to what extent "repair work" must be done before the individual can continue to live in his community of peers.

Nor does time permit more than mention of the fact that the worker must have a clear understanding of his own fears of aging and older people, of his being a parent-figure to those needing a parent-figure or a child to those who need a good child. The worker will have to understand what is his role, what is administration's responsibility, how to use himself consciously, how to handle negative feeling maturely, in addition to a thorough knowledge of the group process, of program, and of goals.

When the worker has an understanding of some of these things, he can then

proceed to formulate some objectives and principles for his procedure.

A worker will want such things as working as far as possible with small groups homogeneously arrived at; providing group activity for isolated individuals who never had group experience (so many of the residents are products of the work-and-earn culture and never knew of recreation); providing groups with a socializing experience in which interpersonal relationship and leader-member relations would be stressed; involving the residents in program experiences which grow out of their own needs, supplemented by auxiliary activities which the home can provide (as choral group and rhythm band, arts and crafts, journalism); using the group media as an opportunity to develop positive relationships, to motivate individuals with undeveloped potentials and latent abilities, to plan for the proper use of the recreational program so that it is consistent with the residents' total life, thus in a sense co-ordinating all group and individual experiences; diagnosing and correcting deficiencies in group and individual behavior within the agency by referral to other services (case work, psychiatry); stimulating interest in city-wide Golden Age activities of a larger educational and socially significant character; developing indigenous leadership through committees, since participation of individuals in every phase of the program encourages self-direction. A program calls for planning, execution, and evaluation, and this must be done by the residents as well.

#### PRINCIPLES

In developing group-work programs in a home for the aged, a number of principles must be made painstakingly clear and zealously adhered to:

*First:* That recreational services are of fundamental importance, that such serv-

ices are offered not as the frills, the luxuries, the showy aspects, but because of the basically essential value of these services to a good adjustment and a satisfying life for residents, not instead of, or in place of, a medical or any other program.

*Second:* That programs in which the residents themselves take part are far more valuable to the participant and the observer than programs put on for the "dear little old people"; that the principle of doing *with* and not *for* people applies as well in a home for the aged as in any other situation.

*Third:* That *nothing of interest* to an adult human being is alien to the program in a home for the aged.

*Fourth:* That activity is only a part of group-work service; that as the needs of the residents change, the program changes; and that the program is not offered as a means of escape.

*Fifth:* That *relationship* is vital in all services.

*Sixth:* That the knowledge we have of what has happened to groups in other situations is transferable and the information that we have as to the problems of older people must be used for effective programing.

*Last:* That basic social-work principles apply—"recognizing the rights of individuals" and "accepting group members for what they are," and "beginning at the level of the group" cannot be overlooked.

Our philosophy of group work is that through active participation in group activity the individual is accepted and acquires status, which results in a sense of belonging and a feeling of being useful, necessary for human beings of whatever age. The program is not designed so that residents could be helped to "kill time," to "keep the resident busy," but rather consciously and creatively to help the

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resident "to improve upon" the abundance of involuntary leisure time he has had in his later years. It is not "made work" but creative activity.

#### DEFINITION OF PROGRAMING

A group-work program should be regarded as a "tool" to bring about group interaction, and programing should be defined as that content of a group life which, conducted in an informal setting, has as a basis the expansion of creative expression, the enrichment of personality, the social development of individuals, and the extension of social attitudes, interests, and awareness. Through this we hope to enrich the life of the residents in order to prepare the individual for social participation.

A group-work program in a home for the aged must gear itself to the recognition of the different functional capacities of residents, in these categories: the "well and ill" ambulatory (the "well" often receiving daily medications), the chronically ill, and the mentally confused. Further breakdown as to whether or not the patient is bedridden is another factor in limitation. While aware of the differences, an attempt is made to integrate all the residents in some phase of the program and in the group. As the program must relate to the total job, in order to be effective, the program at a home will be flexible, varied, and inclusive enough to appeal to and stimulate the wide interests of the residents and involve the entire resident body in some way. The worker will meet with common-interest groups, committees, and mass-activity programs. Fundamentally, he will attempt to work with small groups.

#### SURVEY OF PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

The worker in a program will want to know "where do I begin? What kinds of things can I do?" Usually the worker di-

rects his energies to those areas where he has had specific program skill. At the home we were interested in offering the residents the opportunity to produce their own skits for birthday and other parties. We found that they were reluctant to participate in performances which called for learning parts. They were fearful of being ridiculed, they were not sure of themselves or of the worker. Yet they were co-operative and were willing to try. At first, material selected consisted of pantomime skits, in which one of the residents read the stories, while the others acted them out. A script for a "mock marriage" proved to be highly successful, and the improvisations of the preacher added to, rather than subtracted from, the merriment. Encouraged by this performance and helped to see that the emphasis lay on entertaining the other residents, the residents developed greater interest and ease. The ballad of "Frankie and Johnnie" was used, with a resident reading the verses and the others acting out the parts. The audience began to take particular interest in the staging and costumes. One of the men, who appeared in a skit in a dress suit, commented a few days after the show, "Yesterday I was a nothing, nobody knew me; now, Oh boy, I really made a hit." Casting is generally done with the members, and an attempt is made to permit different residents to take leading roles. Those who come for rehearsals but who do not take part are encouraged to make costumes or decorations. Here is an area for occupational therapy in the preparation of such activities as making decorations, programs, props, or backdrops.

The performances by the residents were introduced gradually, sometimes combined with outside entertainment. An announcement is made that a play will be prepared for a specific event and rehearsals will be held at a given time



and place. The group worker meanwhile encourages the residents to come and invites new residents to attend. If they are not ready to "act," they may help with suggestions and become involved gradually.

An excellent source of much of the material for the dramatic skits is from the living situations of the residents themselves. The beauty parlor, hospital clinics, the laundry, the dining-rooms, the "complaint department"—all are fields for exploring situational humor and providing an opportunity to "take off" on staff members. When possible, a resident can sing a song or perform individually within the skit. Different staging techniques have been used; a shadow-graph proved to be new and interesting to the residents.

Anecdotal material is an excellent source of colorful folklore. For Valentine's Day a number of "shadchan" (match-maker) stories from the *Treasury of Jewish Folklore* provided a very entertaining skit. Usually the themes are simple—one or two central figures on stage, and the others walking on and off for their respective sequences. This increases the number of participants, keeps the "show" moving, and permits a wider use of costumes. A "Miss America Sweater Girl" contest was held, with the men dressing in skirts and sweaters borrowed from the women, and the men enjoyed themselves immensely.

The praise the residents have received from the staff and the greater acceptance by the other residents have led to the point where residents write some of the scripts and feel the importance of furnishing material. One resident saw a skit at a synagogue women's group, which she then used as the basis for a Mother's Day skit on "The Old and the New Ways of Caring for Babies." Skits can help bridge lan-

guage difficulties by being put on in English and Yiddish.

Above all, the success of the programs has resulted from the satisfactions the participants as well as the observers have received; from demonstrations to themselves that they have creative ability; and from the growing conviction that their own programs are *meaningful* to them.

During the birthday party the residents having a birthday that month receive a gift from the residents' fund, a central fund to which they all contribute monthly. A male resident learns what gifts the men desire, as does a woman from the women. Two other residents shop for the gifts. After the party, refreshments are served, as suggested by the recreation committee. These refreshments are always a popular way to conclude an enjoyable evening. Residents help with serving, with cleaning up, and with setting tables. This is their party, their home, they know how to help and want to.

Importing talent, amateur or professional, has its place. However, television now offers huge doses of vaudeville, and the kind of show to be put on at the home will need careful examination. Many organizations in the community, particularly women's organizations, have as an annual project a party at the "Old Folks' Home." Year after year repeated program errors are made. The group worker will want to involve the sponsors in joint planning for the program so as to raise its level. This kind of program, completely composed of visiting performers, must never be the sole source of recreation. We do not know enough about the values derived by the residents from this type of passive activity, and this whole area needs further study.

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also of every group activity. Our experience has been that at first the residents were unable to visualize new program activities and there was a tendency to reject many kinds of activities as unsuitable or *kinderspiel*.

A suggestion was made at a residents' recreation committee meeting that a discussion group be created. Announcements were made and notices posted; yet, when the group first met, only four residents appeared. At that point the worker was faced with a choice; to call the meeting off as a poor start or to use the situation for what it really was and to give those who did come a feeling that their coming was important and they counted. The worker asked those present why they thought the other residents did not come. This led to a lively discussion (and a ventilating of some emotions and hostility); and by the time that the meeting was over, fifteen other residents had "drifted in," curious about what the few people were discussing. Before the group adjourned, a topic was selected for the next meeting, and those who attended were encouraged to be good neighbors and to bring other residents. Topics since discussed included such subjects as "Am I My Brother's Keeper?" "What Does Tolerance Mean?" "Can Older People Learn New Things?"

The topic is democratically selected the week before, by those present, and the title posted, so that the residents can come prepared. The group worker acts as moderator, introduces the subject, furnishes some background information, sees that personalities are kept out of the discussion, and helps to sum up. Residents are encouraged to express themselves in the language with which they are most comfortable, and the worker translates. Of importance is the fact that the meetings were held at a regular time

in the same place. This gave stability. During one meeting the residents discussed "What Do Older People Need?" The session was recorded on tape and played back to them. This was a new experience and enabled them to examine the ebb and flow of discussion. These variations give the program a freshness that is desirable. Abstract subjects should be avoided if possible, as residents have difficulty in abstract thinking.

In the infirmary an effort is made for at least one regular group activity just for the hospital each day. In addition, those who want to and can come, do come to all the parties and other program activities. Infirmary residents usually are confined to wheel chairs and consequently spend more time in the confines of the home. Infirmary activities include a reading discussion group, recorded musical program (with community singing, rhythms, and rhythm instruments), a bingo game, trips, and tours, etc.

A Reading Discussion Infirmary Group at the home has had an interesting experience this year which may be briefly described. A volunteer meets each week with an average group of fifteen residents. They decide what they would like to read and then discuss it. A discussion of poetry led to Shakespeare, which led to the *Merchant of Venice*, to anti-Semitism, to Israel. Then the group decided they would like to know more about Israel. They formulated ten questions on the new state and invited an Israeli student to speak to them. Not wanting a Chamber of Commerce program, they went to the genuine sources. They then invited the other residents to an open meeting. They introduced their leader and speaker. Questions were on industry and family life (including one on "How are older people cared for in your country?"). This proved to be a highly suc-

cessful program for the sponsoring group, for the other residents, as well as for the student speaker. The fact that the handicapped-infirm could do something for other residents meant a great deal to them. They then decided on an "Around the World Series," and each month invited foreign students from the local colleges. Thus far they have heard student speakers from Japan and Alaska, an American Indian, and a South American. This has become a regular program feature and has meant recognition and stimulation for the group. Since that time they have "covered the waterfront," studied Quaker peace plans, collected nickels for school supplies for European children, and they have made such a demand for books that one of the men catalogued all the volumes in the home.

Their success has resulted in a feeling of security which has permitted the members, almost all of whom are chronically ill and confined to wheel chairs, to participate in spontaneous improvised dramatics. During Purim the group acted out the story on the spot. Other familiar biblical incidents have been used.

Successful as this group has been, it was not easy to manage. The members were more accustomed to afternoon naps; it was safer not to get involved; their defenses were up. However, the worker and the volunteer moved slowly. Meeting first in the room of a resident who was interested but "tired," they finally moved to the solarium as the group became larger.

This illustration indicates that the group worker trains and supervises the volunteers in his program and is available to give assistance in bringing the group together, in helping the volunteer understand the group members, and in building programs in the infirmary and enlarging its potential program.

We are aware of the essential part that volunteers play. A group of residents expressed an interest in visiting the airport. This suggested a trip and tour program, in which the residents could decide where they wished to go. The volunteers were encouraged to furnish transportation. Arrangements were made with an airline for the residents to go into a plane, see the pilot's cabin, the way food is stored, and other unfamiliar things. Here lies the essential facet of planning and of receiving maximum return out of each activity. The trip did not end with going to the airport; a little extra time and a telephone call made the residents feel very special and important.

The square-folk dance evening each month serves as another illustration of how the frontiers of program can always be pushed forward. Initially the residents were reluctant to participate, yet curious as to what this was all about. The staff continued to encourage participation, and the program has included simple dances, such as the family-style Virginia Reel, followed by square dances, and novelty dances, such as "Bumps-a-Daisy" and "Loobie Loo" are used. Waltzes are well received. During the intermissions, and there are many (as there is an awareness of functional limitations), folk music of many lands is played. The worker uses this as a game, having the residents guess the native country from which the dance originates. When the Sicilian Tarantella sounds like a Jewish Dance, the worker knows this is a good opportunity to discuss the sameness of people and to help the residents appreciate the diversified backgrounds of even their fellow-residents. Dances rich in folklore (like the Danish Masquerade) are explained, giving the residents an appreciation of folk culture. Sometimes a dance will be demonstrated but often just playing a Barogese Tanz, a czar-

das, a "Sher," or a Polka gets a few residents up. Always someone does a Kazat-ski or a Russian Two-Step.

In addition to the birthday party, usually one other party is held each month. *Holiday celebrations*, on civic and national occasions, are an excellent beginning point. A program on the United Nations anniversary helped the residents to see that the home was in effect a small UN and made them see that they had to live in peace if they expected the world to do so. *Religious activities* make a tremendous program potential, as there is an opportunity for creative dramatics and skits, games, individual participation, songs, dances, carnivals, and decorations. Purim debates, Candle-lighting ceremonies during Chanukah, bring dignity, yet informality, to the program as well as a strengthening of cultural ties. More religious residents can be organized into a temple committee, which is concerned with services and helps plan holiday celebrations and festivities. *Monthly bingo game nights* for all the residents are a popular feature, and cash prizes are given. People play bingo for cash in the community, why not in the home? The residents are encouraged to take turns in calling the numbers. The advent of *television* has resulted in a decrease in the use of *movies*. Now only one film is shown during the month. Occasionally, selected educational films, such as "March of Time" features, are shown. Passes are available for neighborhood theaters, and residents know they can utilize these facilities whenever they wish. *Participation in citizenship* is encouraged in the program. On election day voting booths are set up in the home. Prior to the election, political forums are held at the home, with candidates presenting the issues so that the residents can vote intelligently. Resident "Gallup polls" can be taken—"as the home goes, so goes the

nation." This again brings into the home a semblance of normalcy about things done outside the home. *Joint program* or co-sponsored activities with Golden Age Clubs visiting the home have proved to be successful, serving two purposes, as they are recreational as well as educational. *Cultural activities* on an adult level are popular and well attended—book reviews, concert music, readings, recitations, and lectures.

In homes which do not have an occupational therapy program or in situations in which the occupational therapist's work is purely functional in the medical rehabilitative sense, the group worker often carries the *arts and crafts program*, utilizing those skills he may have and introducing those media he believes may be successful, such as wood and leather work, sewing, ceramics, painting, rug-making, linoleum cutting. Again the group approach is used, but on a highly individualized basis. The emphasis is on the creative process, the meaning the article has to its maker, and not on the perfect or finished product. Wherever possible, a competent, skilled crafts specialist should be employed to handle this program when no occupational therapist is available. Some homes have established a "craft-occupational therapy" program which is actually a "sheltered workshop." Fashion and style shows can be held for clothing or hats made in the program, and men can be encouraged to make Mother's Day gifts, while the women make gifts for Father's Day. Articles made in the crafts program can be sold, and the sales, at the home or at temple sisterhoods, offer program opportunities. Work done by the residents can be exhibited in city-wide hobby shows. This is another way in which the home is integrated into the community. Prayer books and other books in the home can be mended and repaired by a few men who

are skilled in bookbinding. *Auctions* held quarterly have proved to be another way of involving many of the residents and enabling their families and friends to join with them in an activity. Residents are asked to contribute articles and to get donations from their acquaintances, which are sold at the auction, the proceeds going to the sinking fund for residents' use. *Chalk talks* and creative drawing can be used before a large group or at the individual bedside. The resident is encouraged to make some markings on a page, and a picture then is drawn using these markings. The residents keep the picture, or the pictures are used in a story sequence. Similarly a *Schnitzelbank* (a game with drawing and singing) can be created about the home, and its personalities, and can be used to popularize activities. Participation stories (such as "The King with the Terrible Temper"), in which the group is divided into different parts, each part doing a motion or sound effect, combine rhythm with imagination. A small plot of ground serves as an incentive for a *Garden group*, and no vegetables taste quite so good as those grown by the residents.

Just as the home encourages participation of its residents in doing certain jobs, such as delivery of mail, individuals participate in entertainment. An important function is performed by the well resident who brings those in wheel chairs to the programs and parties. Residents can be encouraged to write letters for those unable to do so, and a project could be developed between homes in different cities or with homes in Israel. Other possible programs include game board and card tournaments; developing a home songbook of favorites of the residents with loose-leaf pages which can be added to and taken to their rooms for use; a recipe book of favorite dishes, with the women furnishing the suggestions. This

can be mimeographed and sold, or these recipes can be included in the home newspapers (and there should be a newspaper put out by the journalism group). If possible, residents can be organized into small cooking groups (electric stoves serve adequately) to make jams, jellies, and fudges. This appeals especially to the women residents, who like to continue to serve as hostesses and to prepare food. A resident with a mobile cart can visit the bedridden with magazines or books, jigsaw puzzles, records, and a phonograph. A portable TV set can go from room to room, and for large wards, movie programs can be shown in the rooms.

The season of the year is a factor in programing. The residents are usually confined to the home during the inclement weather and desire a more intense program. Spring and summer offer opportunities for greater use of out-of-doors. Some of the residents attend the summer camp run by the Jewish Community Centers. They offer much to the camp program and gain much from the experience. There are numerous picnics, lawn parties, strawberry festivals, open-air concerts, and the like. Modified athletics are possible in the form of horseshoe pitching, croquet, quoits, and shuffleboard.

Imagination, a desire to try new things, enthusiasm, and patience are the chief ingredients which enable a recreation program director to introduce new skills and interests through which the residents are helped to meet their personal needs.

Though we have attempted to be specific and to offer concrete tangible activity suggestions on what we can do, we must caution the practitioner by pointing out that the program is merely a means to an end and that the value derived by the residents is our real concern. What does the program achieve for the

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resident? (1) It provides recognition and personal status, and a feeling of individual worth and self-esteem. (2) Communication among residents is increased. (3) Interests are stimulated and future events are anticipated, resulting in a decreased passivity. (4) Creative expression is developed and social contribution takes place. (5) Group enterprise is possible; while each member has his own motives, they work as a group. (6) There is equal participation with those in the community. (7) Intellectual activity is stimulated, and self-confidence is gained. (8) Enjoyment, relaxation, and entertainment are provided. (9) Mental and physical vigor is improved, ego strength is restored, and personality is integrated (to retard psychological aging) to a point where initiative, imagination, and some degree of happiness are achieved.

#### WHEN TO PROGRAM

Questions are often raised as to when is the best time for a program—morning, afternoon, or evening. A comprehensive program will have something going on at all times. We usually have infirmary activities in the morning and afternoon. Small-group activities, committees, rehearsals, take place both in the morning and in the afternoon. Sometimes residents like to rest or nap after lunch, so activities are held at about 3:00 P.M. for an hour and a half. Mass programs and parties are usually held in the evening from 7 to 9. This fills the void of evening hours, helping the residents to get to bed in time to sleep the whole night through. Often we, as staff, get more tired than the residents.

We have been asked about our attitude toward the rights of residents to just sit around and do nothing. We have had to examine our own needs to push residents into programs, and our own guilt or anxiety about the job we are do-

ing, if someone isn't doing something all the time. Sometimes a resident just wants to be alone. This is related to the resident's need for privacy, emotional as well as physical. Mr. X. may come only to the discussion group and prefer to play cards the rest of the time, while Mrs. Y. will come to every activity, meeting, and gathering. Considered on an individual basis, we determine whom to encourage a little more and whom to leave alone. Yet we feel that there is a place somewhere in the program for every resident to receive services; consequently, this leads to a need for a full day's activity.

In developing a program, the worker would do well to organize a representative recreation committee, which will include the total resident body, the ambulatory as well as those in wheel chairs. This committee takes responsibility for planning on a month-to-month basis. The calendar of activities can then be mimeographed and distributed to each resident for his or her personal use. Residents also like to send copies of coming events to their friends and families so that they can join with them on special occasions.

Though it may appear at first that the recreation committee members have little to offer, that they are skeptical and distrustful and cannot make specific suggestions or know what they want to do, they can form the core for future activities. Furthermore, imposed programs can only serve to aggravate dependency. Methods of pressure and compulsion will never succeed.

The program must be planned with the co-operation of the residents and not imposed from the outside. It will be the result of a compromise that will have active support because their own ideas will be in operation. As the program grows in spirit, the quality and the collateral un-

foreseen values of group activities will bear exciting witness to the validity of this democratic principle. Even in the most difficult settings, in extremely Orthodox homes, experience has shown that members can and do respond to the group process, that passive programs do in time become active.

Orthodox teachings can be used to help the residents make a satisfactory adjustment and participate. The Commandments encourage one to *live* and not die by them. Traditional Judaism is designed to help the individual get the most out of life. Prayer, to be properly executed, requires a group (the *minyan*), and traditional laws and writings are replete with references on coming together in groups for common purposes.

The lack of opportunity for a resident, of any home, to discover and achieve satisfaction from real interests is no greater than that of the average culturally deprived American adult. This is a societal problem. The group worker hopes to fill that gap. The group worker's job is to discover and capitalize on these interests. Merely suggesting to a group that they might begin an activity is not enough. The group worker must bring into the relationship something to introduce these elements. One does not have to wait until an activity is petering out to introduce something else.

Responses are often painfully slow; however, they will be found in many respects and in many subtle and satisfying ways. The program might be construed as irreligious, and key residents may feel it will interfere with ritualistic practice. Jealousies, prejudices, resentments, and petty "politics" exist, often in proportions unknown to the administration. The worker must proceed slowly, he cannot rush results, can only consider himself successful when he has acceptance and a demand for more activity. At all

times ways and means should be sought to extend the range of participation in depth and breadth to combat the tendency of some small cliques or factions to develop a static inbred pathology.

The group worker will find an important phase of his work with new residents. During the crucial days of adjustment, a warm sensitive worker, who is accepting, who shows interest, who knows of the deep feelings of rejection which the resident has and "why did this have to happen to me, and should I have come in?" can play a significant role. By helping to involve the new resident in activity, an avenue of expression is opened, and in seeing the skits and "take-offs," the newcomer is able to recognize the humor in some of the situations at the home.

The worker helps the individual identify with the group and with the home. This identification contributes to and is built by individual security, which results in emotional security "on the part of the group"; this will ultimately lead to good morale and the feeling that the group is one which the individual can take pride in.

The worker uses his professional skill to integrate the difficult member, be he withdrawn or aggressive, and the disturbed individual; the worker understands bids for attention and handles them in the group.

The group worker may need materials from housekeeping, props from the hospital, decorations from occupational therapy, and will plan refreshments with the dietitian. He works in liaison either directly with department heads or through the administrator. The worker attends staff departmental meetings and the professional psychiatric staff meetings. Here problems related to his work are discussed and insights gained as to handling problem residents and problem situa-

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tions. He may be called upon to interpret his function to other staff, to board members, and to visitors. The worker works closely with the administrative staff, receives supervision, and accurately records his work for study and evaluatory purposes.

The worker will need such time for recording, conferences, and preparation. He will also need a budget, so that materials required for his program are available. A home which has accepted the fact that there is a place for a group work in its functioning must provide a budget, patience, and understanding, and will have to examine objectively what is a realistic work load. The success of a program often is reflected in its acceptance by the director and the board of the home. If the director, the board, and the community desire a program, its arrival will be sooner; and its arrival will demonstrate to the residents that its leaders are interested in their welfare.

#### THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

The board of directors has a definite role in the development of a good recreation program. A recreation committee of the board brings to the worker and residents alike another source of experience, interest, and valuable suggestions. Many successful operations could never have come to fruition without the assistance of the recreation committee of the board. Occasionally the board recreation committee can meet with the resident recreation committee, and the exchange of ideas and mutual interests furnish incentives for resident activity.

The question of whether or not the group worker should be on the home's staff or on the staff of the community recreation agency is not a genuine problem and should never serve as an obstacle to establishing a program. Homes which really want to be a part of the

community have found that the community center is the best medium through which contact with the outside community is maintained. The residents are not isolated from the interests of the Golden Agers in the centers. Home programs with home workers are necessarily limited by home facilities. The community center provides supervision and professional stimulation from the outside, widens the horizon of recreational possibilities, and encourages individual participation in activities maintained outside of the home. In situations where the center is unable to assign a full-time extension worker to the home, some consultant arrangement for professional growth of the worker should be worked out.

A home which "cannot afford" a group worker is practicing false economy. Homes which have established a group-work program have found the administrative work facilitated. Instead of dealing with disgruntled people, who are resentful, constantly bickering and complaining, a more satisfied group of residents will be secure enough to make specific criticisms and helpful suggestions. A group-work program can lead to a feeling of freedom and to the cultivation of the concern for the common good.

Assertions have been made by professional and group members alike that participation in Golden Age programs has lengthened life, staved off deterioration and disintegration, obviated the necessity for regular and continuous attendance in hospital clinics (the benches of these clinics were the first "all day-every day centers"), and reduced substantially the number of older people who would be admissible to mental institutions. Granting that there have been insufficient follow-up studies to prove scientifically the direct relationship between program and

illness, we nevertheless know that a definite relationship does exist.

We have yet to develop sufficient tools and criteria for the measurement of growth in individuals and groups. Students and beginning workers often have difficulties with older people because they do not know how to evaluate what they observe. This is especially true in group-living situations where there are few highly structured groups. It is always difficult to determine the impact and influence that group participation has upon the individual. There are many forces at play which affect the personality of residents. By group participation we hope to effect a modification of individual behavior so that the residents can "change" some of their approaches, attitudes, and reactions.

We are aware of routines and schedules and how they overlap. We have often discussed the relative values of scheduling an activity during clinic hours. We have found that if the residents have a satisfactory experience, if their time is creatively spent, if they are involved, really involved, in the program, they are less likely to be concerned with their illnesses, with their symptoms, and with their needs for sympathy. Nursing personnel have commented on how much better the tone of the ward is following a successful activity.

Group work is *preventive* in its ability to maintain personality integration and deter breakdown, *rehabilitative* in its ability to restore a sense of worth and importance to the psychically damaged individual, and *therapeutic* in that it strengthens the sense of value of one's self to one's self.

Group work can take place wherever

there are groups. However, although one finds a high concentration of group experience in homes, these same institutions are not now considered to be within the group-work field. This presents something of a challenge and an opportunity to group workers in training and practitioners alike. Assuming a common basis of social values and human ends, the group-work discipline can function within the framework of the institution's philosophy and objectives, as do the disciplines of case work, progressive education, and various schools of psychiatry.

It has been the aim of this paper to raise a number of provocative questions and to furnish, at least in part, the answers to these questions. In other areas it points in the direction of a road we must travel to find the necessary answers.

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## FAMILY PATTERNS IN A MEXICAN MIDDLETOWN

NORMAN DAYMOND HUMPHREY

**T**ECOLOTLÁN, Jalisco, is a Spanish-speaking Mexican town of 4,500 located in a *municipio* (county) of the same name some seventy miles southwest of Guadalajara. Its economy centers in agriculture and local handicrafts, such as the manufacture of *guaraches*. An examination of the cultural patterns surrounding the family provides a setting for the understanding of adult personality structures.

Sociocultural family patterns, as here conceived, extend through the cultural molds of childbirth, socialization and enculturation of childhood, and adulthood, from one viewpoint, and from the sociopsychological position of holding and transmitting roles in a social structure from another. The family may be regarded as a microcosm of the society and the major control agent for the transmission of the culture.

### THE SIZE OF THE FAMILY

Within a total population of 10,946 in the *municipio* of Tecolotlán, Jalisco, enumerated in the 1940 census, there were 2,592 families. The town is centered in the *municipio* of the same name. Popular estimates of the size of the family indicate one of six persons as an average, with a one-child family a rarity. An ideal, at least for "upper-class" groups, is the family of six with two boy and two girl children. Actually, excluding single persons enumerated by the census, the median family has approximately six members residing in the household.

### TYPE OF SANCTION FOR MARRIAGE

The sanctions, or absence of formal sanction, for persistent unions between men and women are of several kinds. In 1940, according to the census, 164 persons were united only under the sanction of the church (an illegal union), 3,278 had undergone both civil and religious ceremonies, and 404 persons were united in free unions without civil or church authority. A civil judge, however, estimates that some 50 per cent of the persons living together in Tecolotlán have been united permanently without ceremony of any sort and that only 30 per cent are married both legally and with the sanction of the church.

### KINSHIP

Family ties are much stronger in rural Mexico than they are in comparable areas of the United States. *Mi familia* is a term of both denotative and connotative meanings. In general, the term *parientes* describes relatives to whom duties and obligations in the form of helping one another in work or in caring for old persons extend, but the term does not stretch beyond the limit of second cousins. Yet persons are likely to know relatives in terms of lines of ascent and descent to the fifth generation.

In a community which is newly enmeshed in the bonds of a money economy, *parientes* in some measure are defined as persons from whom one can borrow money without paying interest on loans. Status lines having other bases in-



tervene, however, and tend to destroy the idealized relations the culture prescribes for kindred. Persons who are as close as first cousins may today not be on speaking terms because of the differences in prestige and in the possession of wealth. Kinship relationships are thus partially manifested by the kinds of respect accorded persons, which in turn ties in with the practice of exogamy. While the church requires papal dispensation for the marriage of second cousins, even first-cousin marriages occur, to a larger extent, to be sure, in the upper-class group than in the lower and in accordance with notions of class endogamy and in terms of the persons with whom marriageable individuals may expect unchaperoned interaction. Propinquity and unchaperoned social intimacy are thus factors augmenting unions between cousins. The moral obligations flowing from kinship are also impaired, especially in the upper classes, through quarrels over inheritances. While actually family feuds are rare, hostility between kin often takes the form of not speaking to kinfolk who are regarded to have benefited inequitably from the division of an estate. Thus "class" and the demands made on persons by secular status needs have also made for a decline in the significance and range of kinship obligations in the past several generations.

#### FAMILY ROLES: HUSBAND AND FATHER

The father actually and ideally possesses ultimate authority in family matters. In the idealized version of the culture, regardless of class position, a father's admonition is to be obeyed, and it is a proof of civility that a good son heeds his father's words. When a son leaves his father's home and establishes one of his own, he is somewhat liberated from his father's authority, but the father may

still impose obligations on him, and he demands and receives outward respect in return. The father will rarely strike a child, but, under circumstances which he regards as requiring it, he may strike a grown and even married son without retaliatory action.

The husband and father plays a role in the family toward his wife and children which, were it intensified and not offset by certain narcissistic extensions of affection, might well approximate that of a master-serf relationship. Respect is accorded him and is complemented by outward affection and gratitude, especially by girl children. The obligation of a married man to provide for his own parents, even at the expense of his immediate family, is marked. A wife is expected quietly to accept any privations which accrue from her husband's performance of filial obligations. Many lower-class women appear to have real anxieties and fears at the prospect of displeasing their husbands in this regard.

Affection between husband and wife is not prominently manifested in public. The wife's obligation to yield to her husband's sexual needs is not only sanctioned as a duty by the church but is doubly enforced by her fear that if she does not comply he will have little compunction about finding expression elsewhere. She, in turn, will not question him about such extramarital affairs. The husband himself is likely to be extremely concerned about his wife's constancy and may consider the most harmless discussion with another man as actually flirtatious. Especially with marriageable girl children, "protective" attitudes are manifested by brothers as well as by fathers.

#### WIFE AND MOTHER

The wife and mother, busy with the daily round of duties and tasks in the

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household economy, is basically submissive and accepting of her subordinate role. She is home centered, and except for the daily trip to the mill in the morning to have the corn ground, to the well for drinking water, to the store for food, and for those times other than Sunday that she goes to church, she is circumscribed by the patio and its environs. She handles little money, at most a peso a day, and has little control over it. If it is her duty to feed the pigs, for example, it is her husband who sells them and controls the profits. She may buy yard goods from which to make clothing, but, if a ready-made dress were to be bought, it would be her husband who purchased it.

Normally she accepts her subordinate role and rarely rebels against it. Only in the higher-class groups, and especially in those in which the wife came from a higher-status level than her spouse, one finds that family roles involving approximate equality of status occur. There appears to be some correlation between the amount of manifest family tension and the extent to which women rebel against subordinate status in the family. A woman who rebels strongly may be subject to physical violence. Wife-beating, however, is common only for a small segment of the lower class, and there, usually, for reasons of imputed improvidence, purported laziness, and the like, but often under circumstances of intoxication on the part of the husband.

#### CHILDREN

Parents conceive of children in some degree as persons who, on reaching adulthood, will live out their lives in much the same community and fashion that they themselves have. Hence there is little conscious aspiration reflected by children toward the goal of preparing themselves for different lives or a changed communi-

ty. Education is rarely conceived of as an avenue or tool of ascendancy in the social structure. Little moral or financial support is given it by the community. Children learn economic roles by doing them.

The acquisition of skills by children is rather direct and in the forms of trade apprenticeships for boys or the imitation of household tasks by girls. A boy must learn to do manly things. A father may put a three-year-old boy, for example, on a horse and give him the illusion that he is guiding it. But the father does not "roughhouse" with a child. By doing so, he would "lose face," lower his dignity, and lessen occasion for respect.

Children are relatively free from adult supervision in their play, although sex segregation is strongly formalized by the time they have reached school age. It is manifest even in very young children's games. Boys and girls, for example, do not mix together when skipping rope. That is girls' play. Boys, not girls, pretend to be bullfighters or kick oranges through the streets as if they were playing soccer. The segregation of the sexes and the insistence on sexually defined roles are begun early and are marked.

#### OTHER FACTORS IN CHILD-REARING

The relation between grandparent and grandchild is one of pronounced respect by the child and solicitous concern by the *abuelos*. A mischievous child, on being scolded by a grandparent, thereafter tends to obey, and respect is subsequently manifested by the youngster. Some grandparents, living apart from children and regardless of class position, have been known to request that a favorite grandchild be given to them that they may raise him and thereby receive social satisfactions from him. The relationship between a child and his grandparents is somewhat like his relationship to his re-

ligious *padrinos* and *madrinas*, who at the same time are *compadres* and *comadres* to his parents. In some areas, and in certain roles, more open acceptance is given him. A blood relative has more authority over a child than these fictional kindred of baptism, confirmation, or marriage. But in some cases a child has a more openly affectionate and almost "confessional" relationship with his *padrino* or grandparent than he has with his own parents.

#### "COMPADRAZGO"

*Compadres* of the parents and *padrinos* of the child are preferably friends or relatives with the moral assets and economic means to carry out not only the church-prescribed spiritual obligations to the child but also such customary obligations as those having to do with material benefits such as clothing and education or to aid the parent in providing these things. The *padrinos* of baptism take the child to the church for that purpose, usually within eight days of his birth, provide a white gown which the child wears on that occasion, and may give a party to celebrate the circumstance. If the child dies before the age of ten, the *padrinos* of baptism may also provide his casket. These same persons may or may not be the godparents of confirmation. A child may be confirmed and baptized on the same day, in which case the *padrinos* are likely to be the same persons. The moral obligations of religious relatives of confirmation are not so great as those of baptism. While on occasion parents ask persons of higher social status than themselves to act as *compadres*, in general, *compadres* are of their own class.<sup>1</sup>

The *madrina* and *padrino* of marriage are both selected by the groom and actually have many of the same functions

as the best man and the maid of honor in American society. Normally these persons are a married couple, selected as respected persons known to both bride and groom. The *madrina* of marriage spends several days prior to the church wedding explaining the physical aspects of marriage to the would-be bride, and in some instances the bride spends the wedding night, not with the groom, but with her *madrina* in order to discuss the bride's role as a marriage partner. In addition to the primary *madrina*, there may be several additional "maids of honor."

If, upon marriage, a bride and groom take up residence with the boy's parents, mother-in-law difficulties are not uncommon. *Parientes políticos* may function, of course, as helpful parent surrogates.

#### EXTRAMARITAL RELATIONSHIPS

The family system is further complicated by the fact that, in addition to wives, men, especially some of the wealthier, possess *queridas*, or mistresses, who may bear them children. These children are privately acknowledge by their fathers or known by their origins, and it is a matter of boasting among men of all classes on certain occasions as to how many children they have "at home" and how many "in the country." Seduction is a game for upper-class men, if the object is an attractive lower-class, unmarried girl. A lower-class girl frequently feels honored by a man from a superior class bestowing affection upon her, although, of course, this normally is done surreptitiously. A number of upper-class men, after they have been married, have had children by women other than their wives; and there is often some recognition of blood relationship between children of the same father, although property tends to be transmitted only to the legal wife and offspring on the man's death.

<sup>1</sup> Baptism requires an outlay of some three pesos for the church, although the party and gifts entail more.

The wives of such men ostensibly are unaware of their husbands' philandering, but occasional hair-pullings, which are locally regarded as in extremely bad taste, indicate considerable actual awareness. The "natural" offspring of such affairs do not receive much public disapproval, partly because they are often the offspring of men of considerable prestige in the town and known as such.

#### PREGNANCY AND CHILDBIRTH

Fertility is normally desired by a married woman, and children are regarded in some degree as an evidence of a man's virility. Childlessness is unusual in Tecolotlán, and a childless married woman might appeal to the Virgin of Perpetual Help to aid her if she did not additionally employ herb remedies for sterility. But a childless woman would probably be pitied rather than scorned for her condition. It would be a rare and, in all likelihood, an upper-class woman who would voice the desire not to have children at all or not to have more children. Prophylactics are sold in the town but evidently are employed only by some upper-class men, and here largely in extramarital areas and with reluctance.

The notion exists among lower-class women, however, that, so long as they breast-feed a baby, the menses will not manifest themselves, and pregnancy will not result. Breast-feeding two offspring at the same time is not common but is known. Infanticide is virtually nonexistent. Abortions are equally rare, as are attempted abortions. A woman who finds herself pregnant judges it to be "natural," and there is little shame of her obvious condition. Some beliefs of a magical character concerning pregnancy obtain, and it is often thought that a woman's food desires should be catered to. In all classes, for example, chicken broth is felt to be a necessary food during late preg-

nancy. After the sixth month a woman appears less on the streets than theretofore, at least among the upper classes. A lower-class servant girl, however, is likely to work up to the time her baby is due. There are special religious blessings for pregnant women. Many persons, regardless of class affiliation, continue sexual intercourse until shortly before the baby is born, and renew sexual activity within six weeks after its birth.

The physician is rarely called in to deliver a child, even in the upper-class segment of the population. If the doctor is called, it is normally because difficulties have developed. The doctor is otherwise regarded as too intimately involved with a woman in delivering her, and it is feared that he may gossip about women in labor. A *partera*, or midwife, and female relatives and friends, but not even the husband on the male side of the family, aid in the delivery. Among lower-class persons, younger sisters, sometimes before they themselves have reached puberty, may aid. The most frequently employed midwife, who, on occasion, aids the doctor in difficult cases, is, by local standards, a filthy old woman who employs such tactics as sitting on the woman in labor and who has been directly responsible for cases of "childbirth fever." If silver nitrate is not applied to the eyes of a child, the midwife sometimes squeezes lemon juice into them. Poor people bury the afterbirth and contend that by so doing they eliminate subsequent pain. The women do not complain of "women's troubles" in Tecolotlán. But little supernaturalism is invoked during or after the birth. *Hechiceros*, or wizards, are employed in the birth process.

Ashes sometimes are placed on the child's navel, and even the poor place a band on the baby's belly. When a child is born, other children in the family are

told that God sent the new child. An upper-class woman might stay as long as ten days in bed after the birth of a child; lower-class women are usually up after three days. Virtually all the births occur in the home. A stillborn child might be buried in the patio of one's home or in the cemetery.

#### THE CARE OF INFANTS AND CHILDREN

A favorite element in diet for a nursing mother is *atole*, a mixture of strained, cooked, mashed corn and water, to which *panoche*, or hardened brown-sugar candy and chocolate are added. Since almost all children are breast-fed for from ten months to three years, milk production in the mother is essential to the existence of the child. If the mother cannot give milk, a neighboring wet nurse is employed. Upper-class women tend to put the child on a three-hour nursing schedule, but the lower-class woman, her baby ensconced in her *rebozo*, feeds the child when it seems to desire food or at least each time it begins to cry. Even two-year-olds, already eating hard foods, have been known to prefer the breast to other sources. The "sugar teat" is employed in the process of weaning, although it is the local doctor's contention that the child should be introduced immediately to the spoon. Feeding from the spoon or cup is instituted when the child is from four to six months old. The mother is kept on a diet of *atolito* and milk and abstains from eating fruits, chili, and beans for forty days (up to the time of the *sacramisa* or churching of the child). The child receives little food other than from the breast until he is a year or a year and a half old. Then he begins eating white rice and *atole*. When he begins to chew, meat is added. The weaning process sometimes begins quite suddenly, and children are nursed only at night.

The breast is sometimes blackened with ink or a black fruit, *zapote*, or the juice of a bitter plant, *sabila*, is rubbed on the breast to make it unappetizing.<sup>2</sup> There is relatively little thumb-sucking, except in the child's process of going to sleep. In persistent cases of thumb-sucking bitter juices are placed on the offending member. Children are also "shamed," although this tactic is not used frequently in child-training in Tecolotlán.

Babies do not cry much. They are handled, fondled, and cooed over less by men than by women, but considerable attention and occasional holding of small children by men occurs. Mothers may bestow so much attention on children that even in Tecolotlán they are regarded as "spoiling them."<sup>3</sup> Jealousy toward a younger sibling is much less manifest than in the United States and is mediated by the relatively larger number of children in a household. Sibling association and loyalty are pronounced. The conventional "favorite child" of the entire family is the youngest infant.

Sex segregation is marked by the time children are six. Boys are regarded as fundamentally different from girls, biologically, temperamentally, and otherwise. Girls, for example, are thought to be more naturally obedient than boys, and children to be "naturally" obedient and "naturally" to show deference to adults. Children rarely "talk back" to

<sup>2</sup> Notions exist as to the effects of overlong nursing. It is felt to result in "hot tempers" in adults and strong sexuality. A boy child is regarded as stronger in his sucking efforts than a girl and hence more tiring to his mother.

<sup>3</sup> Self-demand is the norm, although upper-class women may snap fingers on a child's legs to keep him awake in the afternoon so that he may sleep during the night. An upper-class family, which has a bed, permits the baby to sleep with the parents. Among the poor people the *rebozo* is turned into a hammock, and the child thereby need not sleep on the *petate* on the floor.



their parents. Children are rarely punished in the heat of anger; and, if corporal punishment is utilized, it is in the privacy of the home. Modesty, though becoming of the female, is inculcated by *consejos* or advice; and, despite the fact that children in lower-class families quite frequently know of sexual activity of parents, there is much emphasis on modesty of girl children in dress and decorum.<sup>4</sup> Scolding is more often employed

<sup>4</sup> Toilet training is begun at about a year and a half and is facilitated among the poor people by the fact that children frequently go either naked or only wear cotton shirts. The poor people simply request the children to excrete in the patio or animal areas, while the upper-class group resort more to spankings for violations of codes of personal hygiene. Bed-wetting occurs to a larger extent among upper-class children, seemingly, than among the lower-class groups.

than whipping, although a generation ago upper-class fathers resorted to horse-whipping boy children.

Children are sometimes threatened with "*el diablo*" at night if they fail to obey, and confession to the priest is invoked as a device to develop conformity. The parents are consulted frequently by children as occasion demands. The father's word is law. Even such a thing as loafing around the plaza is done with permission. A boy who was discovered as a violator of his mother's injunction to attend spiritual exercises during Lent at the church and who went instead to the movies committed suicide that night in the patio of his home.

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## OBSERVATIONS ON THE JUVENILE COURT IN ISRAEL

DAVID REIFEN

IN DISCUSSING the juvenile court in Israel, it seems appropriate to outline briefly the setting of the court as it existed in the recent past and as it exists today since the state of Israel has come into being. There have been no changes in the criminal code or as regards legislation for juvenile offenders. The procedure in cases of juvenile offenders is regulated mainly by the Juvenile Offenders Ordinance of 1937 and by the Probation of Offenders Ordinance of 1944. Whenever the necessity arises, procedure is in accordance with the Criminal Procedure (Evidence) Ordinance, Magistrates' Courts Procedure Rules, 1940, and Magistrates' Courts Jurisdiction Ordinance, 1947. According to provisions made in the Criminal Code Ordinance of 1936, criminal responsibility begins at the age of nine years; but a child under twelve years of age is not to be held criminally responsible unless it is proved that at the time of committing the offense the child had the capacity to know that he was doing wrong. Juvenile court jurisdiction is for male offenders between the ages of nine and sixteen years and for female offenders between the ages of nine and eighteen years.

After a juvenile offender has been apprehended and after completion of a preliminary investigation made by a police officer, which is taken down in writing and signed by the accused, the juvenile offender is in most cases released on bail, pending court procedure. Only in cases where an offender is considered too dangerous for such release or where the juvenile has no permanent abode and is likely

to disappear prior to court hearing may the offender be remanded until trial. Only a very small percentage is actually remanded. There is one remand home available, which also serves for short-term cases up to six months. The remand home is built on the pattern of the other educational institutions for juvenile offenders, namely, it is an open institution, and the percentage of truancy is rather high.

Immediately after completing his investigation, the police officer sends the juvenile offender to the probation officer, who begins to make the social investigation and acquaints himself with the educational and psychological background of the offender. The report is submitted to the court after the offender has pleaded guilty or after he has been found guilty by cross-examination. This report is regarded as strictly confidential, and its contents are not made known either to the offender, to his parents, or to the prosecutor. This is to our mind most important; otherwise it may become detrimental to a professional relationship between the juvenile offender and the probation officer or teachers and superintendents. Usually the report is based on a very thorough investigation, which includes psychological and often psychiatric examinations.

The juvenile court is given service by probation officers who work under the responsibility of the Ministry of Social Welfare. The principal probation officer is directly responsible to this ministry, which is also responsible for budget and similar items. For administrative pur-

poses the probation service is divided into three main districts—Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Haifa—each under the direction of a senior probation officer. Apart from this, there is a senior Arab probation officer, who together with his colleagues is responsible for juvenile delinquents among the minority groups, mostly Arabs. The wisdom of having the Probation Service under a different ministry from that of the juvenile court may be questioned, since this may lead to friction and misunderstanding with regard to general policy and double loyalty.

The probation officer's report is usually divided into two parts, one giving details of the home circumstances and family structure of the offenders, the other dealing with the offenders' personal history, with particular emphasis on early childhood experience.

In most cases, before the report is submitted to the court, an appropriate treatment plan is worked out between the probation officer and the psychiatrist. (The latter is not attached to the Probation Service but works as a consultant.) The recommendations put forward are not binding upon the juvenile court judge. Although it might happen that there may be differences of opinion as regards the disposal of the case, there is no doubt that an elaborate report based on a psychiatric examination is of help to the judge in reaching his conclusions.

Until recently, juvenile courts have been sections of the magistrates' courts. In almost all instances hearings of juveniles were held at usual court hours on the premises of the magistrates' courts, though in camera. Usually one of the magistrates, selected on the ground of having an understanding of juveniles and their problems, was sitting once a week as juvenile court magistrate. (This ap-

plies to the three main towns only.) All of them regarded this job as a special privilege, and they terminated this special job only when being transferred to other places or when being promoted to a higher court.

No jury system existed during the British Mandate, and none has been introduced by the Israeli government. There is also no tribunal of three magistrates trying juvenile offenders. It is also not the custom to have lay magistrates, and therefore there is no need for a clerk in court to interpret the law to the bench.

During the last two and a half years, however, a significant change has taken place. A special juvenile court has been established, which functions independently of the magistrates' courts. A juvenile court magistrate has been appointed, whose jurisdiction is limited to juvenile offenders only. From then on, all juvenile offenders are being brought before this court. Another innovation is that this magistrate is by profession a psychiatric social worker, with many years of experience in the treatment of young offenders and wayward youth. Having had no regular legal training, he had to pass special examinations in criminal law and procedure in order to qualify for this work. This appointment indicated the trend of thought in Israel, to regard and to treat—also in the court setting—the juvenile offender according to his special requirements and on a professional basis, apart from the legal provision.

The juvenile court magistrate is a roving magistrate, as it were. He is in charge of all juvenile offenders in the whole of Israel and hears cases at nine different places. Court hearings take place twice a week in Tel Aviv and once a week in Jerusalem and Haifa, respectively. In smaller places, such as Tiberias, Nazareth, Acre, or Rechovoth, court hearings

are fixed according to need, which is, on the average, once in six weeks. In Tel Aviv we have been fortunate in finding adequate premises for a juvenile court which are completely separated from the other courts. This court also has been furnished according to the requirements of a juvenile court—i.e., simple and bright furniture, a few pictures, a few suitable slogans, and children's newspapers in the waiting-room. These have been kept to a minimum in order not to give an impression of too great familiarity. We do not think that the waiting-room in a juvenile court should become a sort of clubroom. For therapeutic reasons we are interested in creating an atmosphere which is not rigid and tense, yet is also without too much emphasis on relieving anxiety.

In Jerusalem and Haifa the usual magistrate court premises are being used, though at hours at which no other court hearings take place. Also in the smaller towns hearings are fixed on days when no other court hearings are taking place. Thus juvenile offenders are prevented from meeting with adult offenders in the court premises.

We assume that the judicial treatment of juvenile offenders starts from the moment when an offender is apprehended and suspected of having committed an offense. In the eyes of the juvenile concerned, the kind of treatment he gets by the police is directly connected with the juvenile court. It is therefore very important to have appropriate provisions made by the investigating authority, which should conform with a modern approach to juvenile delinquency and should have some understanding of behavior problems. We do think that it depends sometimes on this very understanding, whether we encounter strong resistance by the juvenile offender in

court or not. That is to say, the juvenile court has to get interested in promoting suitable provisions for the correct approach to juvenile offenders, even prior to their coming before the court. And, on the other hand, it is already generally accepted that the juvenile court should develop a system of follow-up after the disposition of a case.

Following these trends, we have approached the police authorities and requested some changes in their treatment of juvenile offenders. On a few important points these suggestions were readily accepted. For instance, there are no longer any fingerprints being taken of juveniles under the age of twelve years. Above this age the taking of fingerprints is allowed in cases of very severe charges only, such as murder, rape, robbery, burglary (or attempt of them), and in cases of recidivists with a record of serious offenses. For all other charges fingerprints or photographs are no longer taken. This may be regarded as an important step, because the fingerprint sheets have often followed a juvenile offender for years, and they have certainly done much harm. The police also accepted the idea that the prosecuting officer should appear in court dressed in civilian clothes. Policemen who appear as witnesses are not allowed to sit in, because as far as possible no one should be in court who is not directly an interested party in the specific case. Incidentally, we think that a large number of probation officers sitting in court waiting for their turn to come is also an unsatisfactory arrangement. For the particular juvenile concerned it does not matter much that the people sitting around are well meaning, for he does not want many people about. We have worked toward a more satisfactory solution, and we have moved some distance in the desired direction.

As regards the treatment of juvenile offenders by the police authorities, there is still room for improvement. We would like to have specially trained policemen to interrogate the juvenile offender. We also need special lockups for juveniles and a better system of transferring juvenile offenders from one place to another.

By and large, we could observe that most of the juvenile offenders—but for the hard core—were in a way tense when appearing before court. They were anxious to know what the outcome of court hearings would be. This anxiety may, of course, be of value. We were therefore trying to establish a direct contact with the offender immediately on his entering the courtroom. We abolished the system of having the prosecutor read out the charge. Instead, we explain (never read) in simple words what the charge sheet contains, and we ask the offender to tell us whether the contents of this charge sheet are correct. We always make a special point of stressing that “the police say you have done such and such.” Underlining this, we make the juvenile understand that the court is something entirely different from the police and that we are not prejudiced against him. Moreover, by this device, we try to establish a relationship with the offender which might be helpful later on, at the time of disposal. If the offender admits his offense, we let him tell us his side of the story. This is bound to strengthen the relationship already established. But it has also another effect. We regard the story told in court by the juvenile offender himself as a sort of catharsis. We could observe how relieved most of the offenders were, once they had “got it off their chests.” We were often amazed into what details many of the offenders went. It was also astonishing to see how small the percentage was of those who tried con-

sciously to relate a false story. In another category belong those who told essentially the truth, but in some details (which were sometimes important) they suppressed a few facts. In these cases we were usually not interested in making a fuss about it. A third category includes those who tried consciously to lie to the court. In these cases it is our custom to ask the prosecutor to tell us the real facts. We do this purposely, because we do not think we do any good to the juvenile concerned by letting him go off knowing that he lied to the court, without the police having been able to disclose the facts as they both know them to be true. At disposal we follow the same line. We never read out the verdict but always talk to the offender and explain the contents of the verdict.

In this connection, another aspect seems relevant. We make a special point of having parents accompany their children into court. Now when the offender tells his story to the court and the latter is not reacting in a punishing way or does not adopt a moralizing attitude, this has in many instances some meaning for the parents. If the court can tolerate mischievous behavior, many parents will find it easier for themselves later on to do the same. Thus we could often improve disturbed parent-child relationships. There were also parents of whom we knew that they had disturbed relationships with their children but defended them in court with great passion. We thought that this might become an important step toward a new relationship, and we tried to act accordingly.

It is generally accepted that the juvenile court must conform to a certain degree to judicial conceptions. This is valid in particular as regards rules of evidence. We adhere strictly to this concept and regard it as part of our professional



approach. We regard it as obligatory for us, that, if no sufficient proof is brought forward against a juvenile offender who denies the charge, he must be dismissed. In fact, our experience was that 86.6 per cent of juvenile offenders did admit their offenses as stated by the police. But we would like to pose the question: What effect can a dismissal have on the future behavior of a juvenile offender who is guilty, yet had to be dismissed on grounds of insufficient evidence? Can such dismissal stimulate the juvenile to continue with his misdeeds? Can such a dismissal perhaps bring about more maladjusted behavior?

This applies to all offenses committed, but perhaps particularly to sex offenses. As mentioned above, the attitude of the court in these instances is guided by the law. But the problem nevertheless remains, namely, what effect can it have on the future character formation of such offenders?

In Israel, as in many other places, problems of waywardness and delinquency are difficult to gauge statistically. Many youths who are brought to the juvenile court could not really be labeled delinquent, though they may have committed an offense. On the other hand, certainly an even larger number of juveniles who never come before court could easily be put into the category of delinquent youth. It is too often a matter of mere chance or bad luck as to who in the end comes within the category of delinquency. Much depends on the efficiency of the police, who act differently in different places. It will depend sometimes on the cultural standard of the neighborhood, on the importance that some people attach to slight offenses, on friends, etc. All these may determine whether a juvenile is brought before the court or not. A juvenile, in committing such an offense as stealing or bodily as-

sault, is often likely to act in conformity with home and community customs, which conflict with those of the larger social group in which he lives. And yet legally they are called delinquent acts, which put the youth into the category of delinquents. On the other hand, a casual offense may reveal a deep-seated personal problem.

There are various conceptions of "right" and "wrong," of "good" and "bad," among the many immigrants coming from nearly fifty different countries. Among the Arab shepherds, who belong in the category of juveniles, we encountered the following phenomena: They were used to grazing their cattle in forests or young wood. They also used to trespass, in particular during times of drought, into cultivated land. It was the custom not to charge them for this, especially not the young shepherds, i.e., those aged ten, twelve, or fourteen years. If sometimes, nevertheless, they were brought before court, they were committed to pay a small fine, and the matter was settled. The employers of these shepherds paid the fines willingly, and they ordered their employees to continue to act as they had done hitherto. Now in the last two years, the government has ordered a strict keeping to regulations, and grazing is no longer allowed. Fences were built and signposts were put up everywhere, and youngsters by the dozen were brought before the court. Their excuse in most cases was that all these years it had been their custom to graze and, moreover, they were asked to do so by their employers. Incidentally, fences and signs were ineffective and did not prevent the shepherds from following their years-old custom. It was only after we thought of a special way of dealing with these cases that the unlawful procedure could be checked.

It seems to us that a conspicuously

small number of juvenile delinquents exists in Israel. If we take the official figures of juvenile delinquents who appeared before the juvenile court in the period from April 1, 1950, to March 31, 1951, there were somewhat less than a thousand juvenile offenders. Correlated to the general juvenile population, i.e., males nine to sixteen years and females nine to eighteen years, this means that there was a percentage of 0.5 of juvenile delinquents. If we break this figure down to males only within the Jewish population, we would get not more than 1.1 per cent, and with girls only 0.07 per cent. Arab juvenile offenders were 0.4 per cent correlated to Arab youth between the ages of nine and eighteen years, and they were 14 per cent of all offenders. The statistics of offenders are those brought before the court and those found guilty. It seems to us that these figures are representative for the period concerned, because only an insignificant number of cases was still pending investigation by the prosecuting authority when we compiled our statistics. We ought also to take into account that no census has been taken recently, and our figures of the general juvenile population are based on an estimate given to us by the Government Department of Statistics as of December 31, 1950.

We can safely assume that there are probably many more delinquent acts committed by juveniles than are discovered. If this assumption proves to be correct, it should mean that our attention must necessarily be directed to the problem of the potential delinquent. This seems to be particularly relevant in a changing society like ours. In a survey which we did some years ago (unpublished) on roughly the same number of wayward youth, we found that one out of five wayward boys had come before court at one time or another. If this figure of

wayward boys, compared to those actually brought before the court, is still valid, it would suggest that we should not rely on statistics of juvenile offenders as given by the juvenile court alone. It would not give us a true picture of juvenile delinquency in our country. Moreover, we maintain that, in order to tackle the problem of juvenile offenders brought before court, we must deal with the broader problem of the potential delinquent as well. Only thus can we come near to estimating the real state of delinquency.

We do not have sufficient knowledge, for instance, of what is going on in the many reception and settlement camps for newcomers, where a large number of juveniles live. During the above-mentioned period there appeared 7.5 per cent of newcomers before the court (figures on Jewish inhabitants only). We have regarded as newcomers all those who came into the country after May, 1948; i.e., quite a number of them have been in the country as long as two to three years prior to their committing the offense. In many instances they had settled down economically quite satisfactorily. We thought it rather astonishing that so small a number of newcomers should have come before the court.

We can safely assume that in these settlements juveniles commit the same offenses as in other places. Some people would even say that among the newcomers we encounter the largest number of juvenile offenders. Facts do not, however, substantiate this assumption. On the other hand, we do know that in most of these settlements of newcomers, and in particular during the time the newcomers stayed in reception centers for many months (this policy was recently abolished), people were not inclined to call in the police. Particularly as regards slight offenses, they preferred to settle matters

among themselves. They displayed a certain dislike toward the police of the already settled population. In many instances this may also have been based on their own unpleasant experiences which they remembered from the countries of their origin, which they had left not so long ago. The small number of newcomers brought before the court may also account for something else. It is possible that there is need for quite a span of time until the clash of cultures shows its signs also in the field of juvenile delinquent behavior. That there is bound to be a very serious clash of cultures and a reorientation as regards accepted values seems to be a matter of certainty. Within the last three years the Jewish population of the country has more than doubled. More than 60 per cent of the newcomers have come from oriental countries. For many of them it was a transition from fourteenth-century conditions to those of the twentieth century. Most of the newcomers have come from societies whose general cultural and economic standards are backward compared with middle and western European standards, which so far prevail in Israel. It is strongly felt how much the oriental communities are aware of the changing situation, and they reckon with their becoming a numerical majority within the Jewish population in due time.

At the moment there is the disturbing factor that over 80 per cent of the juvenile offenders (among Jews only) came from oriental communities. This figure is about double the percentage in the general population (estimated to be 40 per cent). There were only about 18 per cent of juvenile offenders who came from Ashkenasic origin, whereas Ashkenasic are still 60 per cent of the general population. Moreover, about half of these 18 per cent of Ashkenasic juvenile offenders

belong in fact—according to their cultural and socioeconomic background and standards—in the category of oriental Jews. Now, owing to the high figures of newcomers from oriental countries, we can expect juvenile delinquency of oriental Jews to rise still more. One of the unfortunate results would be that public opinion would come to regard the problem of juvenile delinquency as one of oriental communities alone.

In passing, we should like to mention a phenomenon which may aggravate the problem of juvenile delinquency in this country. We have been accustomed to the thought that consumption of alcohol does not play a large part in juvenile delinquency in this country. It is our impression that matters are changing rapidly in this respect. We do find consumption of alcohol and drunkenness more frequently playing its negative role in family situations. Official statistics of the consumption of alcohol also indicate an enormous rise as compared to previous years. This rise is much higher than the number of immigrants who came into the country during the corresponding years. In certain quarters, newly built villages or settlements, we come across drunkards, which is an entirely new phenomenon in this country. It seems to us that from now on we shall have to take this aspect more fully into account.

When we come to consider the type of offenses committed, we are struck by the high percentage of offenses committed against property. They constituted somewhat over 70 per cent (of all offenses), of which about 10 per cent were of a more serious character, such as housebreaking. During our War of Independence offenses against property were committed on an even larger scale. This was due to war activities and to the general approach to "abandoned" property, which

was shared by a considerable percentage of the general population.

In contrast to this, sex offenses committed by juveniles in the younger age groups have dropped considerably in 1950 compared to figures available from 1944. There was also a drop in offenses against property, but only a slight one. We wondered whether the figures of 1944

vists, i.e., those who had committed offenses and had come to court more than once, either before the newly established juvenile court or on previous occasions. It is possible that this high percentage is a reflection of the lack of adequate facilities in the disposition of the cases.

As in other countries, the age span up to fourteen years seems to be the most dangerous as regards delinquent behavior. About 65 per cent of all juvenile offenders who appeared before the court came within the age group of nine to fourteen years. As peak age we could regard the age group of twelve to fourteen, which included 50 per cent of all juvenile offenders. We do not yet know whether the new law for compulsory elementary education will bring about a change in this peak age. It is possible that more youngsters who previously had left school at the age of eleven, twelve, or thirteen years, having completed a few grades only, will in future be compelled to stay on in school. We doubt, however, whether a law is sufficient to make children stay in school. This, it is true, has become a matter of course in countries with an old tradition in this respect. It is an entirely different matter in the case of Israel. So much depends on the way our schools adapt themselves to the special conditions arising out of problems of mass immigration by heterogeneous communities. But even taking into account a satisfactory development as regards compulsory education, we do not know what influence it will have on a rise or fall of juvenile delinquency at school age. At the moment, out of the total of juvenile offenders, 35 per cent were actually attending school at the time they committed an offense.

Before discussing another aspect of the treatment of the juvenile offender, we should like to point out the great diffi-

TABLE 1

Age	Sex Offenses (Per Cent)	Offenses against Property (Per Cent)
<i>1944:*</i>		
9-10 .....	38	13
11-12 .....	12	24
13-14 .....	25	36
15-16 .....	25	26
16 .....		1
<i>1950:</i>		
9-11 .....	12	17
12-14 .....	50	52
15-16 .....	29	25
16-18 .....	9	6

\* *A Survey of Palestine* (Jerusalem): Government Printer, (1946), II, 681. Prepared in December, 1945, and January, 1946, for the information of Anglo-American Committees of Inquiry.

were indicative of repercussions of the war on the moral behavior of juveniles. The astoundingly high percentage of sex offenses committed in 1944 by juveniles in the age group of nine to ten years may be the direct result of experiences of one kind or another. In 1950-51 the corresponding figure for sex offenses was 2.5 per cent of the total (see Table 1).

We encountered the disturbing fact that 17 per cent of juvenile offenders appeared before court during this year more than once. We thought this to be a high percentage, in particular as we estimated that, of the total number of juveniles who came during this year to the court, there were more than 30 per cent recidi-

culties which we encounter because of lack of adequate facilities for juvenile offenders. There is, for instance, not one institution or remand home for girl offenders, nor is there a closed educational institution for boys. Even the remand home is an open place, and the boys can walk out at their own convenience. If it becomes necessary to isolate a boy for a certain period at a place from which he cannot walk out, we are unable to do this. We observed that many boys, in particular those who need to be isolated for their own safety and for the safety of the community, commit serious offenses at the time they are "on the run," as it were. It should be the responsibility of society to provide appropriate facilities according to the needs of juvenile offenders. Unfortunately, there is a so-called "liberal" conception prevalent in this country, which does more harm than good.

As regards the treatment side in educational institutions, we have had the following experience: the lack of any classification center to help us prior to final disposition made us send a few boys to the educational institution for an experimental period only. In these instances we were not quite sure whether the boy concerned would fit into the particular institution. In a number of cases our experience was that the boys behaved perfectly well throughout the experimental period. But when they came up to court for final disposition, they objected strongly to continuing at the place; and if they were sent back to it, they changed their behavior for the worse. It became quite clear that they thought that exemplary behavior during the experimental period would prevent a longer stay at the institution. Needless to say, prior to our provisional decision we had explained to these boys our intention, but apparently

it did not have the effect we were expecting. We thought another experiment would be worth mentioning, too, though it is of a different kind. Almost every modern legislator has taken into account the desirability of having juvenile judges visit the children at the educational institution to which they have been sent. We were thinking in the same direction and acted accordingly. We made a point of informing the superintendent as to our visit. At two of the institutions the superintendents told the boys about it and suggested they should come forward with any grievances they might have. Some of the boys requested leave to visit relatives, others wanted to know details about clothing, etc. There were no complaints made, though we assumed that the boys had quite a bit to complain about. It is possible that, if we had seen the boys singly, they would have given vent to their grievances. As regards their requests, we had to refer them back to the superintendent. We were left with the impression that all this was rather frustrating for the boys, and some of them showed resentment.

We also observed that when we arrived boys got together in groups and started to talk excitedly among themselves. It turned out that they talked about their past, what the offense was, what the procedure at court was, what offenders did not come up, etc. When we discussed with the superintendent and the staff the pros and cons of our visit, they related the boys' reactions to the visit. Some of the boys thought that the judge was coming to tell the instructors about the boys' offenses and their mischievous behavior; others thought he was coming to investigate certain daily matters which occurred at the place. The latter were looking forward with great expectation to a difficult time for some



members of the staff. There were others who showed great activity before the visit but kept absolutely silent during the visit. There was certainly a great "stir-up" at the place.

We have not yet come to any conclusions about the real usefulness of regular visits by the trial magistrate. Maybe casual visits are more advisable. Our impression is, however, that a visiting committee together with the magistrate is to be preferred. We thought that the boys should be given an opportunity to voice their grievances, though they might attempt to play up the members of the staff and turn to the higher authority. This may lead to an undermining of the authority of the entire staff.

There arises the question, Should a juvenile court which is run by a psychiatric social worker make use of psychological explanations to juvenile offenders? Is the authoritative setting of the juvenile court a proper place for explanations of this kind, and can they have real meaning for the juvenile offender? Circumstances in the court situation are such that in most cases the juvenile offender resents his being brought before the court. In many cases this leads to his being tense and timid, which is perhaps part of his guilt-feelings. There is also the point that the juvenile offender is never confronted alone with the judge, but there are always other people present, such as the probation officer and the prosecutor. Looked at from this angle, this represents a difficulty also for the judge in trying to establish a relationship with the offender. In addition to this, the contact between the judge and the offender is of necessity a short one as regards time and frequency. In most cases—except for the recidivists and in cases of cross-examination—the juvenile is seen in court twice only; and on the average

each time lasts about twenty to thirty minutes. Now, can emotional explanation be of any value at all under these circumstances? We should like to point out quite firmly that our intention is not directed toward a kind of treatment but solely toward causing a kind of experience. Is it advisable that the judge should use this technique?

We would like to quote a few examples of cases we have come across.

There was M, aged fifteen years, who had a good record during his four-year stay at an educational institution up to the age of fourteen years. When he returned home, he could not settle down to a job, and he soon found himself in the company of a group of juvenile offenders. Together with them, and later singlehanded, he committed a few offenses. Probation was not successful, neither was the approved school. The last alternative left was the remand home, where for a while he made a good adjustment. Then, together with an accomplice, he truanted and went from bad to worse. On one occasion his accomplice was given a prison sentence, whereas M was sent again as a last try to the remand home. We observed the immediate influence this discrimination had on M. He had lost faith in himself and was most surprised that the court still had patience with him. We interpreted this to him and explained that, in spite of his record, we could see the potential positive trends in him. We told him how favorably impressed we were with his good adjustment as a child at the educational institution. We tried to show him that it was up to him to regain strength and that he alone was responsible for his acts. We said that we would like to help him if he himself would make an effort to change his behavior. From then on M never truanted again. He left the remand home to take up a job, and now, after about nine months, he has made a good adjustment in town. His visits to the probation officer are regular, and he has kept away from bad companions.

A was aged fourteen years and came to court together with three other boys charged with attempted stealing. The probation officer suggested in his report that the other three boys be let off with an admonition but that A be put on probation for good reasons. When we

discussed—prior to disposition—what they had done and we hinted that we were not inclined to punish them for it, A mumbled: "I want to be sent to prison." This gave us the clue to dispose of the other three, and we kept A behind. He felt quite comfortable about it but got very much annoyed when we tried to get behind his desire to be sent to prison. We also tried to get him to tell us what his problems were. He did not say much and rather withdrew during our conversation. We wished to cause some strong reaction in this boy and to drag him out of his sullen behavior. We told him that we were not likely to send him to prison but we had something different in mind. At this, A looked up furiously and ran out of the courtroom. We allowed nobody to run after him to fetch him back.

His elder sister who was present complained very much against A. Her reasoning was: "You see if he behaves this way in court, imagine what he does at home." About ten minutes had passed, and A entered the courtroom, white-faced and trembling. He seemed very anxious to see our reactions. We said to him: "Well, we are glad you have come back; you thought you were at home. When you are annoyed at your father because he wants you to do something which you do not like, you run out of the house; and some member of the family runs after you trying to catch you. You were annoyed at us, so you ran away. I wish you could stay on so that we can discuss your problems." The boy calmed down at once and changed his attitude completely. We postponed the session and afterward had a few very good interviews with him, in which the boy was able to talk about his desires and wishes. We thought that this boy experienced something unexpectedly. It so happened that we could influence his people to change their behavior toward him.

There was another case of a fifteen-year-old girl who was brought to court, charged with having pilfered ten shilling at a hotel. When she first came, she related that her mother had died recently and that she refused to stay on with her stepfather. She ran away from home, went to a different town, tried to work at several places, and at an opportune moment stole the money from a girl she shared a room with. The girl's behavior and story indicated that she left much more unspoken than she actually revealed. As the girl's residence was in a different town, we referred her back to her original locality and ordered her to report to the probation

officer. After a month the girl reappeared in court as fixed beforehand, but the probation officer reported that the girl had come to him but once, which did not enable him to prepare the required report. We discussed this with the girl, and it occurred to us, because of certain characteristic gestures she made, that she might be pregnant. We urged a female probation officer to take special note of this and postponed the case for another two months, at which time we hoped to know more about the girl. At the set date the girl reappeared, but again no report was ready. The probation officer reported that the girl came only once, immediately after the court session, refused to be physically examined by the woman psychiatrist, and thereupon disappeared entirely. The probation officer also said that nothing definite was known about the suspected pregnancy.

By this time we had no doubt that the girl was really pregnant. It was also clear to us that she resented this fact being known to others, and therefore disappeared after the doctor tried to examine her physically. We could not get rid of the feeling that this girl was in imminent danger.

We began by discussing with the girl the importance for the court of having a report about her. We stressed that this was the usual procedure as laid down by law. The girl complained that, because she stole once, she had to come up so often. She also complained about the necessity to report to the probation officer. The girl promised to behave correctly from now on and asked to be discharged. When we tried to explain to the girl that the probation officer's report was important for us, she repeated her story.

It became quite clear to us that, if we wanted to get at the girl, to pull her out of her shell, we must cut right through to the bottom. We assumed that her appearance in court—of her own free will and traveling to a different town—expressed her need for help. She could easily have disappeared and not come to court at all.

We therefore told her that we realized that she was in trouble and we would like to help her. We said that we could see she was pregnant and we wondered what we could do for her. The girl was taken aback, did not react at all to what we had said, entirely ignored the matter of her pregnancy, and asked again to be discharged. We replied that we were not interested at the moment in her offense, but we would like to help

her in her present state of pregnancy. We wondered whether she had been to see a doctor and started to discuss with her some of the aspects of pregnancy. This put the girl at once into a reality situation, and she started to tell that she had kept the whole matter a secret. She had seen no doctor yet (seventh month!), and actually nobody knew about it. She also related freely how it all happened.

We could see how relieved the girl was and how gladly she accepted our advice as to what to do from now on. From then on, the girl missed no appointment with the probation officer, went to see a doctor, and gave birth to a child under normal conditions.

Now we think the girl was enabled to behave like this because she felt that, if the court was taking on a nonmoralizing, nonpatronizing, and nonpunitive attitude, she was perhaps, after all, no outcast. The fact that she could discuss her secret freely with the court did have a special meaning for her and changed her behavior entirely.

Our experience in Israel in the last two years has seemed to point to a new conception as regards dealing with juvenile offenders in the courtroom. We have come to think that the court situation can—in a way—be used therapeutically.

Such use is limited in scope, but it may have great significance for the juvenile offender concerned. The juvenile offender, if being dealt with in the courtroom by a judge whose method of treatment is based on a social case-work approach and who is familiar—from his own practical experience—with the dynamics of personality composition and intersocial relationships, can take away something that may turn out to be of lasting value to him. Though the contact in the courtroom is necessarily brief, it still may have—just because of this particular setting—some influence on the juvenile offender's reorientation. We are definitely of the opinion that we prefer to deal with the juvenile offender within the court setting and not outside it, as, for instance, in Sweden. We do not regard the juvenile court as a necessary evil but as a social institution that has an important contribution to make in the treatment of juvenile offenders.

JUVENILE COURT  
TEL AVIV

## THE BRITISH WELFARE COUNTERPART

ALFRED H. HAYNES

**O**WING to the increased complexity of social legislation, the trend of administration of welfare functions in Great Britain is toward the creation of specialist spheres of activity. The days when social workers in that country could interest themselves in various facets of human behavior or in the solution of widely differing social problems have gone; and, in their stead, has arrived a period when the welfare state must depend for its effectiveness upon specialist knowledge and concentrated effort. The purpose of this article is not, however, to discuss the merits and demerits of a system which is still experiencing its growing pains—rather is it to give a factual picture so that American social workers may compare their respective status and positions with their counterparts in the British Isles.

Social welfare in Britain today is a complicated business, made even more so by the abolition of the poor law machine, which, besides acting as the residual agency, was charged with specific functions in relation to the relief of distress, the care of the aged, child welfare, etc. Some idea of the consequent complexity in administration that has arisen as a result of the creation of the new social order may be gained from the following list of statutory organizations that are now functioning:

### STATE SERVICES

MINISTRY OF NATIONAL INSURANCE, responsible for:

Sickness benefits  
Widows' benefits

Guardians' allowances  
Retirement pensions  
Death grants  
Industrial injury benefits  
Family allowances

NATIONAL ASSISTANCE BOARD, responsible for:

Assistance grants for those who are without resources or whose resources must be supplemented  
Maintenance of reception centers for those without a settled way of life  
Assessment of entitlement to free legal aid, traveling expenses to hospital, etc.

MINISTRY OF LABOUR AND NATIONAL SERVICE, responsible, *inter alia*, for:

Unemployment insurance  
Registration and placement of unemployed persons  
Registration, training, and rehabilitation of disabled persons  
Resettlement of ex-service personnel  
Control of engagements  
Industrial questions  
Registrations for national service, etc.

MINISTRY OF PENSIONS, responsible, *inter alia*, for:

Award of disability pensions, allowances, war widows' and orphans' pensions  
Rehabilitation of persons disabled from war causes  
Supply of artificial limbs  
Maintenance of specified hospitals, etc.

MINISTRY OF FOOD, responsible, *inter alia*, for:

Control of food commodities  
Issue of welfare foods  
National registration, etc.

REGIONAL HOSPITAL BOARDS, responsible for:

Hospital services  
Medical, nursing, and other general health services  
Supplementary specialist services

EXECUTIVE COUNCILS, responsible for:

General medical, dental, pharmaceutical, and supplementary ophthalmic services

### COUNTY AND COUNTY BOROUGH COUNCIL SERVICES

CHILDREN'S DEPARTMENTS, responsible for:  
Care and protection of "deprived" children

RESIDENTIAL SERVICES DEPARTMENTS, responsible for:

Provision of residential accommodation for the aged and the homeless  
Registration of aged folks' homes

LOCAL HEALTH AUTHORITIES, responsible for:

Ambulance service  
Domiciliary midwifery service  
Health visitation  
Maternity and child welfare  
Domestic help service  
Care and aftercare  
Ascertainment and supervision of mental defectives  
Home nursing  
Health centers  
Vaccination and immunization

EDUCATION DEPARTMENTS, responsible, *inter alia*, for:

Education services, including further education  
Medical inspections of children attending school  
Provision of milk at school  
School meals service  
Special provision for handicapped children, etc.

WELFARE DEPARTMENTS, responsible for:

Welfare arrangements for blind, deaf, dumb, and physically handicapped persons

VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE BUREAU, responsible for:

Registration and placement in employment of juveniles under the age of eighteen

### BOROUGH, URBAN, AND RURAL DISTRICT COUNCILS

HOUSING DEPARTMENTS, responsible, *inter alia*, for:

Provision of dwelling houses  
Promotion of housing associations  
Making and enforcement of by-laws  
Loaning money for purchase of houses  
Slum clearance  
Prevention of overcrowding  
Redevelopment, etc.

PUBLIC HEALTH DEPARTMENTS, responsible, *inter alia*, for:

Environmental health services

### OTHER DEPARTMENTS

PROBATION SERVICE, responsible, *inter alia*, for:

Probation of offenders  
Supervision of juvenile delinquents  
Matrimonial conciliations, etc.

American social workers will be quick to note that, despite its extensive nature, the foregoing list of welfare functions is not fully comprehensive; and they will observe that a dilution of effort has, in some instances, created gaps, while, in others, there is an overlapping of departmental responsibility. An examination of the position regarding the care of the aged, for instance, will reveal that the regional hospital boards are responsible for the provision of chronic sick and senile dementia hospital beds; the residential services departments are charged with the function of providing accommodation for the healthy aged; the Ministry of National Insurance and the National Assistance Board concern themselves with the maintenance of minimum subsistence levels, while the local health authorities provide the domiciliary home help services. With so many pigeonholes of human need—administered, as they are, by so many unrelated departments—it is inevitable that many aged persons find themselves shuttle-cocked between a number of agencies, all of whom, while officially denying that borderline needs come within their respective specialist statutory spheres, are, nevertheless, necessarily being obliged to adopt a spirit of give-and-take. A similar state of affairs is evident in the children's and other services; and it is for this reason that, at officer level, such a good spirit of co-operation prevails and that so much reliance must, even in a welfare state, be placed upon the community spirit of the manifold voluntary organizations.

The fear, expressed in so many quar-



ters, that voluntary effort would be rendered superfluous or redundant by the operation of welfare legislation has been proved to be without foundation, and a glance at the following incomplete list of services rendered by one of the many voluntary organizations—the British Red Cross—will serve to indicate that the exercise of welfare functions is not the sole prerogative of the statutory departments:

*General services.*—Ambulance services on an agency basis; hospital car service in conjunction with the St. John Ambulance Brigade and the Women's Voluntary Services; escort duties.

*Medical and nursing services.*—Blood transfusion service; clinics; medical loan depots; nursing aid service; supplementary staffs for hospitals and institutions; auxiliary hospitals and convalescent homes.

*Welfare services.*—Welfare officers and workers in service and civilian hospitals; assistance to hospital almoners with clerical assistance and the follow-up of cases; hospital libraries; picture libraries; out-patient canteens; trolley shops; "sitters-in" service; old people's hostels and clubs; teaching of diversional handicrafts in hospitals and sanatoria and to home-bound patients.

Professional social workers might, therefore, be conveniently divided into two main classes, viz.: those attached to the voluntary organizations and those employed by the statutory bodies. There is a number of qualifications open to both types of workers, some of them related to specialist spheres of activity and others of a more general nature. Included among the latter are the diplomas and certificates in social science of the universities, most of them providing for both external and internal students.

The range of subjects covered is wide and normally includes courses of study in social history, social economics, social psychology, social administration, etc. For those who wish to adopt the career of psychiatric social worker, a social science diploma is an essential preliminary to a course of study for the university mental health certificates.

Although the social science diplomas and certificates of the universities are recognized as major qualifications, many social workers prefer to concentrate on their own particular fields of duty; and a vocational guidance officer, for instance, will prefer to spend his time in acquiring the university diploma in vocational guidance. There is also a university diploma in public administration, and such professional bodies as the Corporation of Certified Secretaries, the National Association of Local Government Officers, etc., include in their examination syllabi subjects related to social work. Promotion within the local government social welfare services is dependent upon the ability to pass certain examinations, but exemption therefrom may be obtained by securing the qualifications of outside examining bodies, including those referred to above.

Recruitment to the services administered by the voluntary bodies and to the local authority departments is normally restricted to those who have obtained a school-leaving certificate or who, in the case of advertised senior posts, have either had practical experience in social work or, alternatively, possess a social science diploma. Entry into the services administered by the state or by the London County Council is by open competitive examination, followed by interviews by selection boards. Opportunities occur, from time to time, for transfers

from the local government service into the civil (state) service, and vice versa.

There is a wide differentiation between the salary scales of the different classes of social workers, and, although the negotiating bodies (upon which representatives from both employers and employees are represented) have made much progress in securing more favorable rates of pay, many anomalies still exist. The accompanying schedule of approximate salary scales (Table 1), applicable to selected classes of field workers (which takes into account recent increases to meet the rising cost of living) may be helpful for the purposes of comparison.

Bearing in mind that the interim index of retail prices now stands at 121 as against 100 in June, 1947, and that the average amount paid to industrial operatives yields an annual wage of £380 (\$1,064), it cannot be said that British social workers are overpaid. With all the good will in the world, social workers cannot live upon a vocational instinct alone, and it is unfortunately true that sheer economic necessity is forcing many of them to seek more remunerative posts in industrial and other spheres. The recently published *Report of the Governmental Committee Set Up To Report on Social Workers in the Mental Health Services*, for instance, reveals that, as against the national demand for at least 1,500 psychiatric social workers, only one-fifth of this number are in actual practice. The *Report* makes suggestions and recommendations as to how the gap might be bridged—as, for instance, the introduction of a two-year trainee scheme—but, until such time as salary scales are adequate, it is feared that the social services will be understaffed of the right type of entrant.

Negotiated conditions of service now provide for such matters as automobile traveling allowances, holidays, sick leave, superannuation, etc.; but here again there are wide discrepancies as between the different employing authorities. Thus, while probation officers have an entitlement to an annual holiday of between four and six weeks, social welfare officers in the local government services receiving a salary of less than £620 (\$1,736) receive a leave of only eighteen working days, supplemented by an additional three days when their salaries rise over the figure stated. State employees retiring at age sixty receive a lump-sum gratuity based upon years of service at retirement in addition to an annual pension; on the other hand, local government employees receive no lump sum but have their superannuation allowances calculated on a higher percentage basis.

The social legislation passed in the years 1946-48 embraced so wide a scope that, in one way or another, it has affected every member of the community. The British public is therefore entitled to expect an administration that is not merely efficient but tempered with the qualities of justice, kindness, sympathy, and a truly humanitarian spirit. As a result, the British social worker, having thus entered into a new relationship with his fellow-citizens, can justly claim to have attained a new status; a status which not only demands from him a code of conduct but entitles him to professional recognition. It is for this reason that the first national conference organized by the Institute of Welfare and held in London in June, 1951, was devoted to the subject of "The Welfare Officer"; and that "welfare" is an indivisible term was reflected in the large

TABLE 1\*

CLASS OF SOCIAL WORKER	ANNUAL SALARY	
	In British Currency	American Equivalent
Psychiatric social workers.....	£420-£ 580 (plus £75 for extra responsibility)	\$1,176-\$1,624 (plus \$210)
Mental health officers:		
a) Employed mainly on duties in connection with the supervision of mentally defective children; and who either possess a social science diploma or have had five years' experience.....	£440-£ 515	\$1,232-\$1,442
b) As above, but employed on duties of a more responsible nature.....	£500-£ 545	\$1,400-\$1,526
c) Employed as duly authorized officers (i.e., ascertainment and removal of persons of unsound mind) who supervise mental health or general welfare work.....	£530-£ 575	\$1,484-\$1,610
d) Senior administrative positions.....	At discretion of employing authority	
Domestic help organizers.....	No fixed scale but varying between £425 (\$1,190) and £550 (\$1,540)	
Sanitary inspectors.....	£500-£ 575	\$1,400-\$1,610
Welfare officers employed on duties arising out of the National Assistance Act (aged persons, etc.).....	£500-£ 545	\$1,400-\$1,526
Qualified supervisors of mentally defective occupation centers:		
With under 25 children on the register.....	£395-£ 450	\$1,106-\$1,260
25-50 children.....	£440-£ 485	\$1,232-\$1,358
Over 50 children.....	£470-£ 515	\$1,316-\$1,442
Qualified assistant supervisors of mentally defective occupation centers.....	£305-£ 350	\$ 854-\$ 980
State employees:		
Clerical grade {Men.....	£150-£ 450	\$ 420-\$1,260
{Women.....	£150-£ 360	\$ 420-\$1,008
Executive grade {Men.....	£230-£ 650	\$ 644-\$1,820
{Women.....	£230-£ 525	\$ 644-\$1,470
Higher executive grade {Men.....	£675-£ 800	\$1,890-\$2,240
{Women.....	£550-£ 675	\$1,540-\$1,890
Senior executive grade {Men.....	£850-£1,000	\$2,380-\$2,800
{Women.....	£725-£ 830	\$2,030-\$2,324
Children's welfare officers (i.e., those who deal with oversight of boarded-out children, etc.).....	£440-£ 515	\$1,232-\$1,442
Vocational guidance officers (salaries based on school-leaving populations)		
Less than 600 juveniles.....	£470-£ 545	\$1,316-\$1,526
600-900 juveniles.....	£500-£ 575	\$1,400-\$1,610
900-1,200 juveniles.....	£530-£ 620	\$1,484-\$1,736
Over 1,200 juveniles.....	£570-£ 660	\$1,596-\$1,848
Probation officers:		
Aged under 30 {Men.....	£350-£ 435	\$ 980-\$1,218
{Women.....	£335-£ 420	\$ 938-\$1,176
Aged over 30 {Men.....	£450-£ 610	\$1,260-\$1,708
{Women.....	£435-£ 500	\$1,218-\$1,400
Education welfare officers (i.e., those who deal with the welfare of children attending school).....	£400-£ 470	\$1,120-\$1,316
Hospital almoners.....	£380-£ 455	\$1,064-\$1,274
Assistant hospital almoners.....	£330-£ 380	\$ 924-\$1,064 (at present under review)
Health visitors.....	£360-£ 500	\$1,008-\$1,400

\* The salaries are provincial rates and do not include the special "weighting" allowances payable to officers employed in the London area.

attendance of welfare officers from industry, voluntary societies, national and local government organizations, etc. Professional associations there are in plenty—indeed, with the emphasis being laid upon specialization, it could not be otherwise—but social workers in Britain are convinced that only by

drawing closer together can their knowledge and experience be brought to the most effective use. If their job makes of them instruments of policy, their new-found status entitles them to assist in the progress of the future years.

DOVER, ENGLAND

## NOTES AND COMMENT BY THE EDITOR

BENJAMIN E. YOUNGDAHL  
PRESIDENT OF THE AASW

The *Review* is glad to publish this month the photograph of Dean B. E. Youngdahl of the George Warren Brown School of Social Work, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri. During the past year Dean Youngdahl has been a most successful president of the American Association of Social Workers. Since 1938, when he was president of the Minnesota Conference of Social Work, he has held an important series of social service positions and has given generously of his time during these years in social work and in university teaching. He was director of public assistance, Minnesota State Board of Control, 1937-39. He was professor of social work, Washington University, 1943-44, and has been dean of the School of Social Work, Washington University, since 1945. And he has not been afraid to serve where he could help, whether the cause was "popular" or not. For example, he was a member of the St. Louis Race Relations Commission, 1947-49; of the St. Louis Civil Liberties Committee, 1945—; of the Board of the St. Louis Urban League, 1948—.

In addition, his services have been given not only to the American Association of Schools of Social Work, of which he was president in 1947 and 1948, but also to the National Conference of Social Work. In the latter organization he has served as chairman of various committees and was a vice-president in 1949 and member of the executive committee in 1950. In 1949-50 Dean Youngdahl was civilian consultant in the Neuropsychiatric Division, Surgeon General's Office, Department of the Army, and a member of the National Committee and chairman of the Fact Finding Committee of the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth. The AASW is fortunate

in having an able administrator and experienced worker as its leader.

### MANAGEMENT AND LABOR RE- ENACT LABOR HISTORY

Problems of employer-union relationship are portrayed in the Twentieth Century Fund's new documentary film, *Working Together: A Case History of Labor-Management Cooperation*, which was scheduled for release last spring, 1952. The film is said to tell the true story of how union and management of the American Lead Pencil Company, of Hoboken, New Jersey, learned to work together for their mutual benefit. By using an actual labor-relations experience, the film gives a very convincing exposition of many of the conclusions on labor-management co-operation of the Fund's Labor Committee, published in 1949 under the title *Partners in Production*.

The conclusions of the Labor Committee are also set forth, in a form particularly convenient for study and discussion groups, in the thirty-two page pamphlet "Can Labor and Management Work Together?", published for the Fund by the Public Affairs Committee. The pamphlet affords useful material for discussion sessions to accompany showings of the film. A copy of the pamphlet is given free with each print sold.

The film starts by showing the events leading to the formation in 1937 of the first employees' union at the American Company's plant. The action then moves through the early union-management conferences at which the opposing interests of the two parties found vivid expression; the first uneasy compromises, followed by growing faith in a give-and-take attitude on both sides; development of workable grievance machinery; a strike that was settled by an unusual "deal" between union and management; and other events leading finally to a solid working relationship between the two parties expressing their common interest



in efficient production and the prosperity of the firm.

The leading roles, with the exception of two filled by professional actors, are acted by the persons originally involved in the events pictured.

Fund Director Evans Clark, in announcing the release of the film, had high praise for the cooperation of both union and management of the American Lead Pencil Company in the work of producing the film.

The film is twenty-three minutes long, on 16mm. black and white stock, with sound, and was produced for the Fund by Eddie Albert Productions. It will be distributed in the U.S. and abroad by Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, Inc.<sup>1</sup>

### INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE

The chairman of the International Rescue Committee, Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, has issued an appeal in behalf of the Iron Curtain Refugee Campaign and a Resettlement Campaign for Exiled Professionals. The immediate occasion for the appeal issued as we go to press is that *Pravda*, official organ of the Soviet government,

has assailed our recent appeal to the American people to give emergency aid and resettlement assistance to those who escape from [Eastern Europe. The appeal tells us that] at the present time, more than 1,000 men and women, at peril of their lives, are coming through the Iron Curtain into Western Europe every month. *Pravda* denounces our appeal to assist the refugees immediately after escape as a scheme to "give special assistance to all criminals escaping from the countries of the people's democracies."

Dr. Niebuhr's appeal says:

We are proud to help such "criminals." They come to us in the same way as those great movements of escape from political and religious tyranny which brought to America some of our most honorable forebears; William Bradford and the Pilgrim fathers; William Penn and

<sup>1</sup> Prints may be purchased from the regional offices of Encyclopaedia Britannica Films or from their main offices at Wilmette, Illinois. Rental prints will be available from university extension libraries, local film dealers, and other sources, as well as from offices of Encyclopaedia Britannica Films.

the Quaker settlers in Pennsylvania; Lord Baltimore and the Catholics of Maryland; Carl Schurz and the German emigration of 1848; Louis Kossuth following the Hungarian rebellion in 1849; and more recently during the Nazi domination of Europe, Albert Einstein, Niels Bohr, and Franz Werfel.

For us to assist these men and women who have escaped . . . and who are ready to fight for the liberation of their homelands, is in the American tradition. These men and women who come to us across the barbed wire frontiers are of our own flesh, blood and spirit. *Pravda* may well be disturbed—for each refugee who succeeds in escaping is a living argument against the tyranny of Communism. The resistance of these new victims of Communist terror reaffirms for our time that man is made to be free and will suffer and fight for that freedom.

It is therefore in this great American tradition of the immemorial right of political asylum that financial contributions are asked to "help this great new tide of refugees from tyranny."

Members of the committee include such well-known men as Alvin Johnson; Lessing J. Rosenwald; the Quaker, L. Hollingsworth Wood; and others.

### VETERANS ADMINISTRATION MEDICAL ADVISORY GROUPS

The two top medical advisory groups to the Veterans Administration, consisting of forty-three outstanding medical, dental, nursing, and dietetic authorities, are said to have voted "full confidence" in the VA medical program under the direction of Admiral Joel T. Boone, chief medical director.

At the end of a two-day joint conference of the Special Medical Advisory Group and the Board of Chief Consultants, a resolution of official confidence was voted after a meeting held in March, 1952, in Washington to study the details and over-all operation of the VA medical program—the first joint conference to be held by these two groups. The full-confidence resolution was voted unanimously.

The joint resolution stated:

The Special Medical Advisory Group and the Board of Chief Consultants wish to convey

to Admiral Joel T. Boone their appreciation of the highly effective manner in which he has carried out his responsibilities as Chief Medical Director of the Department of Medicine and Surgery, Veterans Administration, during the past year.

The Special Medical Advisory Group and the Board of Chief Consultants wish to express their full confidence in Admiral Boone as Chief Medical Director and to assure him of their wholehearted support of the Veterans Administration Medical Program under his leadership.

In view of the interest and importance of, and great opportunity for service by, the Veterans Administration, it is reassuring to have strong expression of public co-operation.

#### NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL WORK IN DEFENSE MOBILIZATION

We are indebted to the National Committee on Social Work in Defense Mobilization for the following statement:

The National Committee on Social Work in Defense Mobilization has become increasingly aware of the acute shortage of professionally trained social workers available to serve the 164 areas designated as "critical" due to new or additional industrial and military installations vital to national defense and also to work within the rapidly developing social service program of the Army. The urgency of developing a long range recruitment program for the field of social work as indicated by the recently published reports of the Bureau of Labor Statistics and Dr. Ernest V. Hollis is underscored in this period of defense mobilization. The National Committee on Social Work in Defense Mobilization is therefore participating with the National Social Welfare Assembly and projecting a long range recruitment plan and is also concerned with immediate recruitment of social workers for defense related jobs.

The Committee's release sets forth current personnel needs of the Social Service Branch and Medical Social Work Section of the Psychiatry and Neurology Consultants Division in the Office of the Army Surgeon General. . . . We believe our profession has a deep responsibility for serving our citizens who are in the Armed Services and think we should feel encouraged

that the Army is ready to commission so large a number of trained social workers.

#### INTERNATIONAL ACTION FOR PUBLIC HEALTH

The international action necessary to alleviate the present critical shortages of insecticides required for public health purposes was the subject of study by a working party which has been established by the Secretary-General of the United Nations and which met at Geneva, Switzerland, late last winter.

At the Fourth World Health Assembly in May, 1951, it was pointed out that (1) the use of insecticides for the control and eventual eradication of certain communicable diseases had been adopted by many countries as integral and major parts of their total efforts to improve both the health and the economic standards of large proportions of their populations; (2) the efficacy of control measures, with the eventual conquest of insect-borne diseases, was dependent upon the regular and adequate provision of the insecticides required; and (3) the availability of such insecticides had been sharply affected by the shortage of raw materials (chlorine, benzene, sulphuric acid) resulting from altered production priorities in connection with the development of defense programs in the major producing countries. The Fourth World Assembly adopted a resolution in which governments were requested to take vigorous action to maintain capacity production of insecticides and to facilitate their export and in which the United Nations was requested to investigate the international aspects of the problem.

Acting upon this request, the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, on September 4, 1951, directed the Secretary-General of the United Nations to establish a working party to study the problem.

#### STATE LABOR LAWS DEFENDED

In reply to those who have expressed fear that "forward-looking labor laws" were driving industry from the state of New

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York, Edward Corsi, the state industrial commissioner, declared that such fears were unfounded. "On the contrary," he added, according to a report in the *New York Times*, "the state is doing a very good job of holding its own industrially."

According to the *Times*, Mr. Corsi's stand, expressed in the annual report of the state labor department, was seen as an answer to employer groups who have been seeking a revision of the workmen's compensation law on the ground that the cost of workmen's compensation is so high that it has placed industry at a competitive disadvantage with industry in other states.

Mr. Corsi said that the department would continue its investigation into the impact of various labor laws on a broader scale. He also paid tribute to the efforts of the commerce department in bringing new business to the state and said that this had been a factor in enabling the state to maintain its industrial position.

The report said that the number of wage and salary workers in nonagricultural employment in New York State in 1951 was greater than in any other year on record. The average monthly employment of persons covered by unemployment insurance was 4,450,000, compared to 3,330,000 in 1940 and 3,984,000 at the wartime peak. The sources of the new labor supply were attributed to the normal increase in the labor force and an increase in the number of women job-seekers.

Dollar pay rolls likewise were the highest on record. For firms liable for unemployment insurance, pay rolls were estimated at \$16,600,000,000 for the year, three times the 1940 level.

The peak in the increase in employment over the corresponding month of 1950 was reached in March, when 120,000 more workers were employed in the manufacture of durable goods, 48,000 more in the manufacture of nondurable goods, 32,000 more in wholesale construction, 31,000 more in wholesale and retail trade, and 30,000 more in government.

By September, only two of these groups, government and the manufacture of durable goods, were employing more than they did twelve months earlier. Even in durable goods, increased employment was not universal because of a decrease in consumer demand for

some items, materials shortages, and labor difficulties.

In manufacturing, average weekly earnings for production workers rose from \$63.65 in December, 1950, to \$65.39 in September, 1951. In the same period the hourly rate rose from \$1.58 to \$1.65 in the wholesale trade, and the retail average weekly earnings were from \$1.00 to \$3.00 higher in 1951 than in 1950.

### IRO

The executive committee and the general council of the International Refugee Organization (IRO) have been concerned about the approval of plans for the final liquidation of the organization, which has been in existence since July, 1947, and which since that time has resettled more than one million displaced persons and refugees in new homes and repatriated nearly 73,000 to their home countries. Among the specific agenda items at the meeting held in Geneva late last winter were (1) the semiannual report of the director-general for the period July 1–December 31, 1951; (2) financial reports for the three months ending September 30, 1951, and proposals for further financial reports; (3) a final plan of expenditure; (4) a report by the director-general on outstanding operational problems as of February 1, 1952; and (5) a report by the director-general on the liquidation of the organization.

### CHURCH AGENCIES IN FOREIGN AID

The Department of State has given out a statement to the effect that Charles P. Taft, who is chairman of the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid of the Department of State, has reported to Assistant Secretary of State Thorp that voluntary exports of goods and funds for relief and rehabilitation for the six months ending December 31, 1951, reported by forty-four agencies registered with the committee, approximated \$29,000,000 in value. Church agencies—Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish—accounted for 60 per cent; CARE, for 25 per cent; American Relief for Korea, for 7 per cent; and agencies of general service, for

8 per cent. More than 75 per cent of the goods and funds were distributed to nationals and refugees in fourteen countries of the ninety beneficiary areas scattered throughout the world. These countries are said to have been Germany, Korea, Italy, Israel, Austria, Great Britain, France, Japan, Greece, India, Lebanon, Arab Palestine, Jordan, and Syria.

### UNICEF IN NEED OF HELP

As we go to press, word comes that the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund is facing a financial crisis. The plans for UNICEF call for outlays of \$8,613,000, while its present resources total only \$3,267,700. One solution considered is the moving to unfreeze nearly \$7,000,000 allocated for use in Communist China.

At a session of UNICEF's executive board, subject to the availability of funds, the board approved health projects envisioning the expenditure of approximately \$1,000,000 in Africa—tremendous expansion of its work on that continent. Included are two experimental operations for control and elimination of trachoma in Morocco and Tunisia. The Fund, which had not previously attempted to combat trachoma, which necessitates prolonged treatment, allocated \$175,000 for the work.

Additional allocations for Africa included \$400,000 for Togoland, the Cameroons, and French West Africa; \$100,000 for Liberia, to combat malaria and yaws; \$175,000 for the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi; and \$150,000 for French Equatorial Africa, for a fight against kwashiorkor, a disease resulting from malnutrition.

We have reported before on the extremely valuable work being done by UNICEF, and we shall continue to do this. We must, however, point out here that this is a great opportunity for service for children.

Programs to aid children in Southeast Asia which have been assisted by UNICEF have, in some instances, reached millions of children. Cumulative figures do not seem possible, because the same child may be

helped by several projects—but the number in each case is extremely large.

A few of the totals in various programs, approximately at the close of last year, are as follows:

Six million five hundred thousand children had been tested in BCG antituberculosis campaigns aided by UNICEF, and, of that number, nearly 2,500,000 had been vaccinated.

More than 1,250,000 persons, of whom a high percentage were children, have been examined in antiyaws campaigns, and, of that number, 150,000 have subsequently been treated for yaws.

Nearly a million infants and young children are currently receiving UNICEF milk and other UNICEF food supplies.

Population areas of more than a million persons have been covered in antimalaria campaigns using DDT supplied by UNICEF.

Two hundred thousand children have been inoculated against diphtheria.

These figures are taken from recent reports to the Fund from the UNICEF director for Asia in Bangkok. Even larger numbers will benefit indirectly from other projects which the Fund is assisting, particularly the aid being given to help countries build up their own maternal and child health services.

Of great potential importance, too, is the aid already given, and likely to be extended, to these countries to help them develop their own supply sources, for example, antibiotics plants, DDT plants, and vaccine-production centers. The aid being given India for the development of an antibiotics plant, for example, will make possible the first production of penicillin in the entire area.

In all these operations UNICEF has worked in close co-operation with the World Health Organization (WHO).

A report at the close of last year showed that aid was currently being given to Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Pakistan, the Philippines, Formosa, Thailand, and the United Kingdom territories. All together, approximately \$12,000,000 has been spent, or is allocated, for their child aid programs. Practically all of them have made contributions to the Fund, add-

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ing up to the equivalent of nearly \$1,500,000 from both government and private sources. This amount is in addition to the international matching which often far exceeds the value of UNICEF supplies. In three countries—Pakistan, the Philippines, and Thailand—special collections were begun on United Nations Day, the proceeds to be given to UNICEF or to UNICEF-aided projects within the respective countries.

The following statements illustrate the situation in the Pacific area.

*Afghanistan.*—The third member of an international team has arrived to help in setting up maternal and child health services. Nearly 4,000 children are receiving UNICEF milk daily. DDT is being supplied for typhus campaigns.

A feature of this aid is the great effort required to get supplies into this country. They are sent by rail from Karachi to Peshawar in Pakistan and from there by truck through the Khyber Pass to Kabul. The roadway through the pass is a river bed, which, at certain seasons, becomes impassable because of high waters.

*Burma.*—A t.b. clinic in Rangoon, which was wrecked during the Japanese occupation, has been re-established with the help of UNICEF, and "is a credit to everybody who helped rebuild it." A milk-feeding program, using UNICEF supplies, is in full swing. Development of other projects is satisfactory, including plans for improving maternal and child health services. The constitution provides that 25 per cent of the national income may be spent on social services, and "excellent plans" have been drawn. Implementation, though, is necessarily slow, for the economy has not yet regained prewar levels.

*Ceylon.*—Through a UNICEF-assisted BCG campaign, over 300,000 children have been tested and 123,000 vaccinated. The government is continuing the program, using equipment provided by UNICEF. It is also receiving help from UNICEF for construction of a DDT production plant to enable it to carry on and extend its malaria control campaigns.

*India.*—An estimated 500,000 children are receiving UNICEF milk. Nearly 30,000 in the famine area are getting UNICEF rice. In the BCG campaign, over 350,000 children were tested in a single month, bringing the cumulative number tested to nearly 5,000,000. Of that num-

ber, nearly 1,600,000 have been vaccinated. The number protected in the DDT sprayings is considerably over 500,000. Equipment from UNICEF is on hand for installation in four Delhi hospitals. Work is going forward, in consultation with the World Health Organization, on plans for the antibiotics plant, for which UNICEF will provide \$850,000 in equipment and supplies.

*Indonesia.*—The number of persons examined for yaws has reached 1,000,000, and examinations are proceeding at the rate of over 100,000 a month. Supplies are being distributed to maternal and child health centers which the Fund is helping to re-establish; many were destroyed or fell into disrepair during the war. About 130,000 children are receiving UNICEF milk.

*Pakistan.*—The BCG antituberculosis campaign has tested over 1,000,000. More than 300,000 have been vaccinated in a UNICEF-assisted antimalaria campaign; the goal was 1,000,000 by March, 1952. Plans are being made for a UNICEF-aided DDT production plant. One hundred thousand children are receiving UNICEF food supplies. Training projects for midwives and nurses are beginning with UNICEF help. Getting accommodations for the students has been a handicap. A smaller, but welcome, item is distribution of more than 400,000 pounds of UNICEF soap.

*Philippines.*—The child-feeding program, currently reaching nearly 18,000 children, is "very, very good," and plans are being developed for using indigenous foods. Both the BCG campaigns and the antiyaws campaigns are off to an excellent start, on the basis of "meticulously sound planning." In the area covered so far, the incidence of yaws has been found to be 20 per cent. A house-to-house canvass is being made for which the services of local doctors are being enlisted. More than 200,000 children have been inoculated against diphtheria. A BCG vaccine laboratory, developed with the help of UNICEF, is in production.

*Formosa.*—The BCG antituberculosis campaign is extremely successful. By the end of September about 450,000 children had been tested, and, of that number, 278,000 were vaccinated. Only 6 per cent of those tested failed to return to find out whether or not they should be vaccinated. "We were escorted to a



police station in one of the busy downtown sections," the UNICEF director for Asia writes, "and there we saw mothers with their moppets cheerfully getting their tuberculin tests, and going away with the BCG card carefully held to avoid getting it soiled. A week later most if not all of these people would be back for a reading, and if necessary, a shot of the protective vaccine." Police stations, he adds, are customarily used as inoculation and vaccination centers.

*Thailand.*—More than 250,000 persons have been examined in the antiyaws campaign. Nearly 85,000 children are receiving UNICEF milk. The government is extending an anti-malaria campaign, begun as a demonstration aided by UNICEF and WHO, under which 350,000 were protected.

*United Kingdom territories.*—In Brunei, health clinics were opened in five additional districts, marking completion of plans for island-wide coverage. UNICEF provided equipment. Infant mortality rates are showing considerable improvement. The BCG campaign in Singapore has tested nearly 35,000 children. In Malaya, a second class was enrolled at a Fund-aided nurses' training school. In Borneo, UNICEF is giving aid in training maternal and child health personnel. New schoolrooms are also being provided.

UNICEF is one of the very generous activities that have come out of the tragedy of war.

#### NEWS FROM THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR MENTAL HEALTH

Social workers, who, as a professional group, have had such respect over the years for the great book by Clifford Whittingham Beers, pioneer in the mental health movement, *A Mind That Found Itself*, will be interested to know that the National Association for Mental Health has taken final steps to complete the dramatization, which was to be presented in New York, of the Beers book.

The dramatization based on the Beers autobiography was expected to be presented in April in New York by the NAMH and the American Theatre Wing Community

Plays for the NAMH board of directors, their guests, and friends of the National Association. The new play was to be called "My Name is Legion."

This *première* was to mark the end of many months of work on the dramatization, which was written by Nora Stirling (author of the "Temperate Zone" series) and Nina Ridenour (director of the NAMH's Division of Education). The project is being financed by the Grant Foundation.

The play is to be used primarily for educational purposes. It is intended to acquaint the public with both the mental health movement in general and the work of the NAMH in particular.

On April 1, a preview of the play was held in New York for professional people interested in mental health education and for NAMH staff. Both the April performances were to be staged with Broadway casts.

It was planned that drafts of the script would be available on request to state and local organizations wishing to produce the play in their communities during Mental Health Week.

"If some day the dreaded mental illness known as schizophrenia is conquered, an eighty-year-old retired Boston lawyer will have no small share in the victory." Lucy Freeman, writing in the *New York Times* for March 21, introduced to the readers of her column one of the really great benefactors of the mental health movement, Mr. Melvin M. Johnson, whose organization, the Scottish Rite of Freemasonry, has turned over to the NAMH nearly \$1,000,000 to support one of the nation's most comprehensive research projects on schizophrenia and is increasing its annual grant from \$50,000 to \$70,000.

Continuing professional help for the board of directors in planning the program for the NAMH has been assured by the recent appointment of a professional committee. This committee includes Dr. Thomas A. C. Rennie, Dr. Kenneth E. Appel, Dr. Marion E. Kenworthy, Dr. Paul V. Lem-

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kau, Dr. William Malamud, and Dr. Howard W. Potter. All are psychiatrists and NAMH board members.

The six will use their own medical and scientific background in advising the board, and they expect to secure assistance from other disciplines—such as anthropology, social work, nursing, and public health—when necessary.

The committee has already held several meetings and has made recommendations to the executive committee of the board regarding the following activities: (1) *the appointment of five working committees of board members*; (2) *the establishment of a system of co-operation among the NAMH, the National Institute of Mental Health, and the American Psychiatric Association*; (3) *appointment of panels of experts to guide NAMH divisions or sections*; (4) *setting up a research program*; (5) *standards for mental hospitals*; (6) *establishment of a policy on legislation*.

"Still in a state of flux." Those words describe the young but thriving NAMH. Most recently planned changes include the following:

The Division of Community Clinics will soon be eliminated as a division. Plans for carrying on the division's work are now in the hands of the medical director, Dr. Stevenson.

Another change is the planned return of the World Affairs Division, after April 1, to half-time direction. Full-time supervision was inaugurated prior to the Mexican congress.

Most recent addition to the lengthening list of local organizations is the Vancouver Chapter of the Washington Society for Mental Hygiene. We cannot tell how many state and local associations there are at the moment, but the latest count indicated more than 315.

The local association is sponsoring a poster contest in Atlantic County's four high schools, with its board of directors to provide cash prizes. An award ceremony and an exhibit of the posters are planned for Mental Health Week. NAMH literature—including the popular leaflet *Mental Health Is . . . I,*

2, 3—is being distributed in the art classes to give the students poster ideas.

### TO HELP ALCOHOLICS

The New York legislature has passed, and the governor has signed, the bill which is said to be "the boldest action taken thus far to cope with the serious problem" of alcoholics in the state of New York.

In a helpful editorial comment the *New York Times* tells us that "the new law gives the State Mental Health Commission power to grant \$100,000 to public or private agencies that will establish approved community clinics for chronic drinkers." Apparently there are to be state-supported clinics in Syracuse, Binghamton, and Rochester, as well as one in the New York metropolitan area that would operate in conjunction with a medical college. Forty-five thousand dollars will be spent by the commission for a research program to determine the extent of the problem in the state and the effectiveness of means to combat it, in addition to studying treatment techniques currently in use. With the continuation of the Buffalo clinic aid of \$55,000, the state will spend, in all, \$200,000 this year in aiding alcoholics.

Finally, the *Times* editorial says that it is "estimated that New York State has nearly 700,000 chronic alcoholics, who lose an average of twenty-two working days annually because of heavy drinking. Recovering even part of the man-hours lost to alcoholism would repay the state's expenditure. But the torment, suffering and social disorganization brought on by compulsive drinking cannot be computed in dollars and cents. We can be assured that in treating 'problem drinkers' and returning many of them to useful productive activity the state's funds could be put to excellent use."

### A GI'S LETTER TELLS AGONY OF WAR

The horror of the fighting in Korea is graphically depicted in a letter written by a soldier to a Chicago friend and published in the *Chicago Daily News*. The writer asked the friend not to let details of the account

reach his only living relatives here. For that reason the names of both were withheld. The letter, written September 29, 1951, from the Chorwon area, was as follows:

We walked up the hill without opposition. Since then we have had 14 killed in action, 28 wounded in action and possibly four missing in action. It really is hell up there.

Last night the company was surrounded and attacked by the North Koreans. The company kept drawing up toward the top of the hill and the "Gooks" were all around.

It was the most godawful thing in the world.

They captured a sergeant and tortured him to death, making him call for help until the guys on the hill couldn't stand it.

He screamed for three hours and they moved him closer and closer but our men weren't able to get to him.

They mutilated him and stuck sticks in his eyes and cut his feet off.

Another guy got captured and they put a carbine to his head. He wheeled and broke loose and got away.

Those ——— talk perfect English. One of them cut right in on a captured radio and said, "The Chinese are here."

Three men blew their tops after the dawn broke.

We have 167 men left out of a company of 210.

They have mortar and artillery on us all the time and snipers all over.

This is probably a self-relief letter but I wrote it to you because you can understand. Most of the people back there don't know there's a war going on.

If you have any old prayers lying around, better say them now. These boys really need them.

#### A LABOR UNIT FOR NEGRO RIGHTS

Representatives of seventy-five anti-Communist trade-unions are said to have formed a national Negro labor committee to improve the lot of individual Negroes and achieve the objectives of organized labor.

At a meeting last March in New York City, 350 delegates voted to expand an existing group in New York into a national organization to be known as the "Negro Labor

Committee, U.S.A." They adopted a constitution barring from membership "Communist or Communist-dominated trade unions and all other anti-democratic groups."

The *New York Times* has reported that the blessings of the two labor federations, AF of L and CIO, were given to the new group through the appearance of James B. Carey, secretary of the CIO, and Lewis G. Hines, representing William Green, president of the AF of L. Both pledged their organizations to the fight for Negro rights.

Mr. Carey assailed both Communists and white advocates for union action against civil rights and outlined three objectives in the field of civil liberties. They were economic and political equality and equality of opportunity. He said that they could best be achieved "by organizing every last working man and woman in our country into free labor unions."

Mr. Hines said that while some AF of L unions still discriminated against Negroes—a practice deplored by the leadership of the federation—great progress had been made, especially in the South, where, he added, there were now many mixed locals.

Formation of the National Negro Committee was regarded as a declaration of war against the National Negro Labor Council, a leftist group, which met last fall in Cincinnati.

Discussing the role of labor in Negro workers' problems and in democracy, Frank R. Crosswaith, chairman of the committee, said that the Negro could solve the problems confronting him only "if and when organized labor recognizes its common interest with the Negro through education and organization with him to meet and solve them."

The president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AF of L, called for the development of a "world congress of Negro workers and peoples and their democratic allies to achieve greater unity and consciousness, understanding, vision and statesmanship, to fight to throw off the yoke of imperialistic colonialism on the one hand, and

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to avoid the dangerous quicksands of Russian world communism on the other."

Such a movement, he said, could "join with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in helping to halt the march of the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions, which seeks to win the working masses of Africa and the West Indies, not for their economic, political and social well-being and advancement, but to give strength and power to Russian Stalinism."

The delegates adopted resolutions on national policy, civil rights, organization, and the poll tax. The resolution dealing with national policy reaffirmed "allegiance to democracy and liberty" and pledged "unswerving opposition to any and all forces that challenge democracy and liberty."

On the question of civil rights the delegates declared in favor of the effective federal antilynch law and resolved that "such a law should include the provision 'that whenever a Negro person or other citizen is lynched, the state and county in which the lynching occurs should pay to the kin of the victim the sum of \$50,000 to be taken from the Treasury of said state and that the Department of Justice be strengthened to meet and deal with violators of the law.'"

## A CHAPTER OF LEGISLATIVE HISTORY\*

### SAFEGUARDING THE DISCLOSURE OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE RECORDS: THE LEGISLATIVE HISTORY OF THE "JENNER AMENDMENT"—SECTION 618, REVENUE ACT OF 1951

The Revenue Act of 1951<sup>1</sup> contains a provision which affects the four public assistance titles of the Social Security Act. Section 618 of that act reads as follows:

"Sec. 618. *Prohibition upon denial of Social Security Act funds.*—No State or any agency or political subdivision thereof shall be deprived of any grant-in-aid or other payment to

which it otherwise is or has become entitled pursuant to title I, IV, X, or XIV of the Social Security Act, as amended, by reason of the enactment or enforcement by such State of any legislation prescribing any conditions under which public access may be had to records of the disbursement of any such funds or payments within such State, if such legislation prohibits the use of any list or names obtained through such access to such records for commercial or political purposes."

Ever since 1941, the states have been required,<sup>2</sup> if their public assistance plans were to be approved for federal funds, to safeguard the confidentiality of public assistance information. Title I, "Grants to the States for Old-Age Assistance," provides, for example,<sup>3</sup> that "a State plan for old-age assistance must . . . provide safeguards which restrict the use or disclosure of information concerning applicants and recipients to purposes directly connected with the administration of old-age assistance."<sup>4</sup>

These provisions were under attack in some states during the 1951 state legislative sessions, and this has been reflected in the Congress in moves either to repeal the provisions quoted or to modify them in some respects. The enact-

\*By the Social Security Act amendments of 1939 (P.L. 379, 76th Cong.), which became effective July 1, 1941. This action resulted largely from the widespread political misuse of the names of recipients in the 1938 elections in Ohio. For a summary of the 1938 developments see the letter of Federal Security Administrator Oscar R. Ewing to the editor of the *Indianapolis Star*, February 2, 1951, published February 11, 1951.

<sup>2</sup>Sec. 2(a)(8). Comparable provisions are found in Title IV, "Grants to the States for Aid to Dependent Children," sec. 402(a)(8); Title X, "Grants to the States for Aid to the Blind," sec. 1002(a)(9); and Title XIV, "Grants to the States for Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled," sec. 1402(a)(8). Title XIV was enacted in 1950, effective October 11, 1950.

<sup>4</sup>The intent of the 1939 amendments is shown by the following quotations which appeared in the report of the House Committee on Ways and Means: "This is designed to prevent the use of such information for political and commercial purposes (p. 3). . . . All three assistance titles would be thus amended, the obvious purpose being to insure efficient administration and to protect recipients from humiliation and exploitation" (p. 29). (House Rept. No. 728 [76th Cong., 1st sess., June 2, 1939]). Identical language appeared in Sen. Rept. No. 734, July 7, 1939. The amendment was enacted practically without any opposition or record vote.

\* The *Review* is indebted to Wilbur J. Cohen and Jules H. Berman of the Federal Security Agency for this material on the Jenner amendment.

<sup>1</sup> P.L. 183, 82d Cong., approved October 20, 1951.

ment of section 618 is the result of congressional consideration of this matter.

Section 618 has had a complicated legislative history, in the course of which it was passed by the Senate, in varying forms, on three occasions. It was not, however, voted on by the House of Representatives on any occasion except in approving the conference committee report on the revenue bill. Nor were there public hearings in either house of Congress. The unusual circumstances surrounding the enactment of section 618 can best be understood by reviewing briefly the happenings, first, in the state of Indiana and, second, in the Congress with reference to legislation enacted by Indiana.

Early in 1951, legislation was introduced in the Indiana legislature which provided that under certain circumstances the public might inspect certain information about public assistance recipients in the state. The Indiana legislature passed this legislation<sup>5</sup> over the veto of the governor on March 5, 1951. While this measure was being discussed in the legislature, the state agency was informed by the Federal Security Agency that it raised obvious questions of conformity with the requirements of the Social Security Act. After the legislation was enacted, a hearing was held before the Federal Security Administrator on May 15, 1951, at which the state of Indiana was offered an opportunity to explain why federal funds should not be withheld in accordance with the provisions of the Social Security Act. Pending a decision by the Administrator and pending the effective date of the law, federal funds were continued to be certified for payment to the state.

On July 20, 1951, the state of Indiana announced that chapter 321 was in effect, and on July 31 the Federal Security Administrator announced his decision that enactment of chapter 321 placed the state of Indiana out of conformity with the Social Security Act. No federal funds were certified for the state after that date. After the Administrator's decision, the state of Indiana initiated action in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia for a review of the Administrator's action to determine its legality. A hearing was held on September 7, 1951, before Judge Alexander Holzoff. A decision was rendered that day upholding the action of the Administrator. Although the state of Indiana appealed the judgment of the District Court, the case became moot upon the enactment of section 618.

<sup>5</sup> *Indiana Acts of 1951*, c. 321.

In the meantime, legislatures of several states had memorialized the Congress for the enactment of federal legislation to repeal or modify the provisions in the Social Security Act concerning the confidentiality of public assistance information. These included the states of Georgia, Indiana, Illinois, Florida, Oklahoma, and Alabama.<sup>6</sup>

Wide publicity given the debate in the Indiana legislature over the enactment of chapter 321 was reflected in various kinds of action taken by members of the Congress. On February 19, 1951, Representative Bronson of Indiana introduced H.R. 2738, which provided for the repeal from the Social Security Act of the sections requiring the states to maintain the confidentiality of public assistance information. Subsequently, on March 12, 1951, Senator Dirksen of Illinois introduced S. 1099, a bill with identical objectives to H.R. 2738. In the period which followed, several more bills were introduced in the House and the Senate either to repeal the provisions in the Social Security Act or to modify them.<sup>7</sup>

**Appropriation bill.**—When the Federal Security Agency Appropriation Bill for the fiscal year 1952 (H.R. 3709) was being considered in the Senate, Senator Dirksen of Illinois reviewed with the Senate the situation faced by the state of Indiana with respect to the possible loss of federal public assistance funds.<sup>8</sup> The Senator announced that were he to be present the next day he would introduce an amendment to the appropriation bill to provide "that no State shall be denied its appropriate funds under the public assistance program by virtue of the fact that it requires, by legislative enactment, that there shall be reasonable inspection of the names of those who receive public aid." The next day, when the Senate resumed consideration of H.R. 3709, making appropriations for the Federal Security Agency, Senator Jenner of Indiana offered an amendment as follows: "Provided, That no State which has, by legislative enactment, provided the condi-

<sup>6</sup> *Congressional Record*, March 12, 1951; March 15, 1951; April 30, 1951; May 4, 1951; and May 15, 1951.

<sup>7</sup> H.R. 3341 and H.R. 5654, introduced by Representative Harrison of Virginia; H.R. 3768 and H.R. 5076, introduced by Representative Reed of New York; H.R. 5083, introduced by Representative Mason of Illinois; and S. 1865, introduced by Senator Jenner of Indiana.

<sup>8</sup> *Congressional Record*, June 12, 1951, p. 6574.



tions under which public access may be had to the records of the disbursements of grants-in-aid funds shall be denied its allocation of Federal funds under titles I, IV, X, and XIV if such State has otherwise complied with the governing statutory provisions."<sup>9</sup>

There was no debate on the amendment, and the presiding officer announced that, since there was no objection, the amendment was agreed to. Inasmuch as the appropriation bill, as adopted by the House, did not contain a similar provision, this was one of the many differences between the House and Senate versions of the appropriation bill which were considered by a joint conference committee of the Senate and House appropriation committees. The decision of the committee was not to include this language in the law.<sup>10</sup> The conferees agreed that "the appropriate legislative committee of the Congress should consider the subject matter of this amendment."<sup>11</sup>

*H.R. 2416.*—After the decision of the conference committee on the appropriation act not to include Senator Jenner's amendment, the latter introduced a similar amendment to H.R. 2416, which had come from the House to the Senate for consideration. H.R. 2416 was a minor bill amending the tax law and had originated in the House in accordance with the constitutional requirement that revenue-raising measures originate in the House. When the bill came to the Senate floor, after being reported out by the Senate Finance Committee with minor amendments, Senator McFarland sponsored an amendment which would have provided for additional federal funds to the states for the public assistance program by changing the formula governing federal participation in the state assistance payments.<sup>12</sup> Subsequently, on motion of Senator Taft, the bill was returned to the Finance Committee for further study. On July 19 the bill was again

considered by the Senate, in the course of which consideration Senator Jenner introduced an amendment similar to that which he had sponsored as an amendment to the appropriation bill: "No State or any agency or political subdivision thereof shall be deprived of any grant-in-aid or other payment to which it otherwise is or has become entitled pursuant to Titles I, IV, X, and XIV of the Social Security Act, as amended, by reason of the enactment or enforcement by such State of any legislation describing any conditions under which public access may be had to records of the disbursement of any such funds or payments within such State."

In the debate on the amendment, Senator Jenner again reviewed the circumstances of the controversy between his state and the Federal Security Agency over chapter 321. Senator Jenner and Senator Dirksen, who aided in explaining the amendment, emphasized that whether public access is to be had to public assistance information should be a state question and should not be decided by the federal government. They pointed out that the state should be free to determine how it wishes to administer this aspect of the public assistance program. States which felt that publicity was necessary to remove ineligible persons from the rolls would be able to use this device without penalty of the withdrawal of federal funds. Senator Kerr, in charge of the bill on the floor, opposed the amendment on the ground that the assistance programs are state-administered, and thus, if there are ineligible persons on the rolls, the states put them there. He also defended the concept of federal standards in public assistance as well as in other programs. By a roll-call vote of 38 to 30 the amendment was adopted.<sup>13</sup>

Inasmuch as H.R. 2416 contained important provisions amending the Social Security Act and involving large sums of additional funds, the bill, when it was received from the Senate, was referred to the Ways and Means Committee in the House rather than being sent directly to a conference of representatives of the House and Senate. The Ways and Means Committee took no action on the bill during 1951.

*Statements in the "Congressional Record."*—On several occasions members of the House and Senate inserted materials in the *Congressional Record* on the subject of the confidential nature

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, June 13, 1951, p. 6629.

<sup>10</sup> The chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee sent a telegram to each state governor on June 15, 1951, asking for comments on the amendment. According to informal information received by the authors, of 31 replies, 9 favored the amendment, 8 had no objection, 8 opposed the amendment, and 4 expressed neither approval nor opposition.

<sup>11</sup> House Rept. No. 694 (82d Cong., 1st sess., July 11, 1951), p. 13.

<sup>12</sup> *Congressional Record*, June 21, 1951, p. 7043.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, July 19, 1951, pp. 8624-31.

of public assistance information.<sup>14</sup> On the floor, several congressmen spoke about the pending bills on this subject and related conditions in the state-administered public assistance programs which they said would be corrected by the passage of appropriate legislation.<sup>15</sup> On one occasion, Representative Halleck urged the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee to call hearings on the pending bills.<sup>16</sup>

*Revenue Act of 1951.*—Another occasion presented itself for the Senate to act on legislation regarding the confidential nature of public assistance information. The Revenue Act of 1951 (H.R. 4473) passed the House on June 22, 1951, and came to the Senate for consideration. In the course of floor debate on the measure, Senator Jenner again offered his amendment in essentially the same language as the Senate had already twice adopted: "No State or any agency or political subdivision thereof shall be deprived of any grant-in-aid or other payment to which it otherwise is or has become entitled pursuant to titles I, IV, X, or XIV of the Social Security Act, as amended, by reason of the enactment or enforcement by such State of any legislation prescribing any conditions under which public access may be had to records of the disbursement of any such funds or payments within such State." Senator George, chairman of the Committee on Finance, in charge of the bill on the floor, agreed to take the amendment to conference. The amendment was agreed to without debate.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> For various statements in the *Congressional Record* for and against the amendment see the following:

For the amendment: Representative Reed, September 17, 1951, pp. A5906-8; Senator Jenner, July 19, 1951, pp. 8624-25; Representative Harrison, September 26, 1951, pp. 12364-70; Representative Davis, September 26, 1951, pp. 12370-72.

Against the amendment: Representative Jackson, October 18, 1951, p. A6817; Representative Dingell, October 16, 1951, p. 13543; Representative Eberharter, October 16, 1951, p. 13545; Representative Denton, October 16, 1951, pp. 13547-48; Senator Kerr, July 19, 1951, p. 8628; and Senator Lehman, July 19, 1951, p. 8626.

<sup>15</sup> See, especially, *Congressional Record*, September 26, 1951, pp. 12364-72.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, August 20, 1951, pp. 10555-56.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, September 28, 1951, p. 12621. The amendment was offered during a night session of the Senate after a lengthy and controversial debate on a number of tax amendments and just immediately prior to the final vote on the revenue

bill. There is no record concerning whether or not opponents of the amendment were on the floor at the time it was adopted.

On the same day, the Ways and Means Committee announced that hearings would begin on October 8, 1951, on H.R. 3341, a bill, introduced by Representative Harrison, which would repeal the requirements in the Social Security Act that the states keep public assistance information confidential.<sup>18</sup>

The amendment sponsored by Senator Jenner was one of many differences between the tax bill as passed by the House and as approved by the Senate. While the bill was in conference between the two houses, the Forty-third Annual Governors' Conference was held in Gatlinburg, Tennessee. On October 2, 1951, the governors voted unanimously<sup>19</sup> to request the Congress to reserve for the states the right to decide whether public assistance information may be made available to the public. The discussion before the Governor's Conference received wide publicity in the press and was reported in the *Congressional Record*.<sup>20</sup>

In discussing the problem of publicizing relief rolls, "the Governors did not attempt to reach agreement on the question of how best to prevent abuses, or as to the propriety or efficacy of publicizing relief rolls. They did, however, take a united and determined stand in favor of leaving to the States the determination of whether there shall be publicity."<sup>21</sup>

The position of the governors was later set forth in the following resolution: "The Governors' Conference has taken no position on the advisability or propriety of publicizing welfare rolls. The Governors' Conference is, however, unanimous in declaring that the publicizing of welfare rolls is a matter for determination by the individual States."<sup>22</sup>

On October 1, the revenue bill was sent to conference. The conferees discussed several "compromises," including a provision per-

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. D907, D908. In view of the action by the Senate on the revenue bill, the ranking majority and minority members of the committee were conferees on the bill. Because of this, the committee did not find time to hold public hearings.

<sup>19</sup> But see n. 10 for attitude of the governors about three months previously.

<sup>20</sup> *Congressional Record*, October 11, 1951, pp. A6633-34.

<sup>21</sup> *State Government*, November, 1951, p. 282.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

mitting disclosure of information only as regards individuals which the person obtaining the information alleges are illegally receiving assistance and prohibiting the use of such information for commercial or political purposes. On October 15, 1951, the conferees on the tax legislation reported to the two houses the various decisions which had been reached. The conferees decided to retain the Senate language with reference to the public assistance programs with a further amendment which imposed a condition that the state legislation providing public access to the records of disbursement must prohibit the use of any list of names obtained through such access to such records for commercial or political purposes. The conferees noted that, under this amendment, "the State of Indiana which has a law which permits public access to the records of disbursements of public welfare funds but which contains, *inter alia*, a prohibition upon the use of any lists or names so obtained for commercial or political purposes of any nature, will be entitled to receive its payments under the Social Security Act in the future and will also be entitled to receive any such payments which have been withheld because of the enactment and enforcement of the Indiana law."<sup>23</sup>

For reasons unrelated to the amendment sponsored by Senator Jenner the House of Representatives refused to adopt the conference report and directed that the conferees resume their deliberations. The conferees met again and reported back a bill slightly different from that which the House had refused to accept.<sup>24</sup> The amendment regarding the confidential nature of public assistance information was not modified. On October 18, 1951, the Senate adopted the conference report.<sup>25</sup> The next day the House approved the conference report.<sup>26</sup>

*Section 618.*—The bill was approved by the President on October 20, 1951. The President, in signing the bill, issued a statement commenting on several features of the legislation. After listing several of the provisions of the bill, the President stated: "In addition, the act contains a 'rider'—the so-called Jenner amendment—which is quite unrelated to the purpose of rais-

ing revenue, and which may well result in unwarranted publicity and personal indignity and unhappiness for aged people and others receiving public assistance."<sup>27</sup>

On November 8, the Social Security Administration issued an interpretation of the amendment.<sup>28</sup> The interpretation is as follows:

"In interpreting the language of section 618, it is necessary to realize that the provisions of the Social Security Act which require a State plan to 'provide safeguards which restrict the use or disclosure of information concerning applicants and recipients to purposes directly connected with the administration' of the particular assistance program remain in full force and effect except to the extent that they are modified by section 618.

"If a State wishes to take advantage of the provisions of section 618, then there must be specific provisions in the State legislation which authorize public access to the records of disbursements or payment of public assistance, prescribe the conditions under which such access may be had, and prohibit the use of any lists or names so obtained through such access for commercial or political purposes.

"Under section 618, the State law is only permitted to provide for public access to 'records of the disbursement of any such funds or payments within such State.' Thus section 618 leaves intact, even for States operating under it, the protections written into the Social Security Act against the release of other information, including case records, which the public assistance agency possesses concerning applicants and recipients of public assistance.

"Section 618 permits a State to enact a statute under which 'public access may be had' to the type of records discussed above, and places no limitations upon the conditions that the State statute may prescribe under which public access may be had to such records. Therefore, such conditions may be as restrictive or as broad as a State legislature may deem advisable. Moreover, subject to the prohibition of use for commercial or political purposes, the State may permit persons inspecting the accessible records to make any use they may wish of information so obtained. However, it must be noted that the congressional language was

<sup>23</sup> House Rept. No. 1179 (82d Cong., 1st sess., October 15, 1951), pp. 108, 109.

<sup>24</sup> House Rept. No. 1213 (82d Cong., 1st sess., October 18, 1951).

<sup>25</sup> *Congressional Record*, October 18, 1951, p. 13706.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, October 19, 1951, p. 13832.

<sup>27</sup> Statement by the President, October 20, 1951.

<sup>28</sup> State Letter No. 166, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Administration, to State Agencies Administering Approved Public Assistance Plans.

phrased so as not to go beyond permitting public access to such records. That is to say, the use in section 618 of the phrase 'access may be had' would seem to require that the public take the initiative in seeking access to and examining the records of disbursement and payment and that the State itself refrain from taking the initiative in general distribution to the public of such information by means of publication or otherwise."

We believe that our readers will appreciate the careful work that has been done by Wilbur Cohen and Jules Berman in this study of a chapter of our legislative history.

### EMIC NEEDED AGAIN

As we go to press, the Senate Health Subcommittee is giving active consideration to legislation (S. 1245 and S. 2337) to provide maternity and infant care for wives and infants, and hospital care for all dependents, of enlisted members of the Armed Forces. The useful Social Legislation Information Service reports that in his opening statement at the start of the public hearings, Chairman Herbert H. Lehman said that it was "estimated that 200,000 babies will be born to the wives of enlisted men in 1952. Of these, it is probable that 75,000 can be cared for in military hospitals and by military medical personnel. Determination of who, and under what circumstances, will provide care for the remaining 125,000 births to the wives of enlisted men, is one of the central inquiries involved in this hearing. We hope that you will be able to tell us whether in communities throughout the country there are resources which now can provide such assistance as is required, or whether special Federally-assisted arrangements to deal with this problem must be made."

The testimony presented by Dr. Martha M. Eliot, chief of the United States Children's Bureau, is given in full. Dr. Eliot carried major responsibility for the administration of the federal aspects of the emergency maternity and infant care program during the second World War and will do so if Congress should again approve a similar program.

Dr. Eliot said, first, that the bill "would provide for the wives of enlisted men in the seven lowest pay grades comprehensive health and medical services, including hospitalization during maternity, medical services and hospitalization for their babies and pre-school youngsters, and hospitalization for all dependents."

Dr. Eliot said:

Let me say first of all that I believe it is sound policy to give priority to the provision of comprehensive services to the wives of servicemen during maternity and to their babies and young children. It is a matter of the first importance that the man who is away from his family, serving his country, can be assured that during the time his wife is pregnant and his children are small, they will be able to get the care they need.

Over and over again during World War II, men in the Armed Forces, their wives, and the organization close to them—particularly those serving enlisted men's families directly—told us how valuable the Emergency Maternity and Infant Care program was in that period, how well it met the needs of the individual mothers often in the most critical period of their family life. Even now, as I and other members of the Children's Bureau staff travel over the country, we meet families, husbands and wives who had an EMIC baby, and hear the story, still vivid in their memory, of what it meant in those trying times to be assured of care. The number of men in the Armed Forces at the peak of World War II was, of course, much larger than is anticipated at this time, but the problem and the worry for each individual enlisted man and his wife is the same even though there are not so many of them now. Often the husband cannot be near his wife to help her make plans for herself and the children. He is worried about how she will manage financially—how the doctor and the hospital bills will be paid—and whether she will have trouble getting the care she needs.

The Defense Department presently estimates that during the next year, the size of the Armed Forces will be about 3,600,000. About 3,200,000 will be in the seven lowest pay grades. We estimate that there will be about 200,000 babies born to wives of these men over the period of one year. According to staff members of the Armed Forces Medical Policy Council, it would be possible at this time to pro-

vide care for approximately 75,000 of these births through the use of military personnel and facilities. This means that there will be about 125,000 births for whom such care cannot be provided. Recent testimony before the Congress by the Department of Defense indicates it may not be possible to continue care for dependents at the present level. In that event, the number of births which cannot be taken care of through military medical facilities will be greater.

Men are told when they are inducted that their dependents are eligible for health and medical care from military personnel in military hospitals. It is apparent from reports . . . that some of them do not understand that such care is available only in military hospitals. Many of the families stay in the communities where they have been living, with the man coming home to visit them as often as he can while he stays in this country. Many families who move to the camp area when the enlisted man is there move elsewhere as he is transferred or when he goes out of the country. The advantage of a program such as that proposed is that care will be available wherever the family may be, thus correcting some of the inequities of the present situation.

In order to learn more of the kind of problem which these families face, the Department of Defense, working with the Children's Bureau, undertook a special survey of enlisted Army personnel in the spring of 1951, using a scientifically selected sample. We found that 41 percent of the married men in the Army were under 25 years of age, and an additional 24 percent were in the 25 and under 30 age group. Slightly more than one-half of the married men had children—the average was two children per family. These children were predominantly in the pre-school years, 70 percent being under 6 years of age (4 percent under 1 month, 19 percent 1 through 11 months; 47 percent 1 through 5 years) and 30 percent 6 to 18 years. We estimate that two-thirds are under 5 years of age. Approximately 20 percent of the married men reported that their wives were pregnant at the time of the survey, but less than half of these men expected their wives to be delivered in a military hospital.

Dr. Eliot continued:

We inquired about the resources which these families might have in the way of insurance to cover hospital and medical costs, and found that

59 percent of them had no such insurance covering their dependents. Fifteen percent had hospitalization insurance, 19 percent both hospitalization and medical insurance, and 2 percent had medical insurance only. (Five percent did not reply to the question.) We know that plans vary greatly in their provisions, that many do not provide maternity benefits, and that those which include maternity care often do not cover the entire cost of such care. Less than 1 out of 3 of the men carrying insurance stated that they believed practically all the cost would be covered.

When asked to report how he and his wife were planning to meet the cost of maternity care, more than one-third of the men whose wives were pregnant reported that they would have to ask their parents or other relatives, friends, the Red Cross or Army Emergency Relief for help in meeting the cost, or would have to apply for a commercial loan, or said they did not know where they would get the money to pay the doctor and the hospital. Three-fourths of the men said they were worried about not having enough money to take care of the baby after it came.

It is not surprising that so many of the men are anxious and worried about how the bills will be paid when their wives are going to have a baby. The wife of a man who is in the lowest three pay grades receives a monthly check from the government of \$85, which includes the serviceman's contribution. After the birth of the baby, this will be increased to \$107.50. The highest amount she can receive, regardless of the number of children in the family, is \$125 per month. In the case of an enlisted man in the highest pay grade covered by this proposed legislation, the wife and one child receive the same pay as the wife alone, which is \$147.50 per month. If there are more than two dependents, this amount goes up to \$165 per month.

During the later weeks of pregnancy, it is unwise for a woman to work to supplement her allotment. If she has pre-school children, she ought to be able to stay at home and take care of them. If she goes to work, she has day-care problems and often day-care costs may take a good part of what she makes. There is rent to pay, food and clothing to buy, a special formula for the baby, and other costs which are essential to family living. At present prices, this is not easy. When we add health and medical care costs, which are high under any circumstance and are unpredictable in amount because no



one knows in advance what complications of pregnancy or of illness among children may arise, the financial difficulties of these families become apparent. Being young, few of them have substantial savings to fall back on.

How then are these families managing? In trying to find the answer to this question, we turned to the American Red Cross, which is the largest voluntary organization serving dependents of men in the Armed Forces.

The American Red Cross provides financial assistance on the basis of need to wives and children of members of the Armed Forces, (1) by use of chapter funds for basic maintenance during the period pending first receipt of family allowance or allotment and during periods when such payments as may be due are delayed or interrupted; and (2) by use of the chapter funds or by referral to other resources for emergency needs which arise at any time during the period of military service. The Red Cross defines emergency needs as those needs that are urgent and require immediate attention as distinguished from those that are desirable but do not require immediate attention. Medical care needed in relation to pregnancy is not rated as an emergency except as unforeseeable developments may result in an emergency.

The Red Cross reported to us last spring that there had been a striking increase in the number of requests from wives for assistance in arranging and paying for maternity care and children's medical care. To get an idea of the size of the problem, the Red Cross undertook a special survey, covering March 1951. On the basis of this survey, the Red Cross estimated that about 110,000 requests for help in obtaining maternity care will be received from families of servicemen over a year's period. Under its financial assistance policy for meeting emergency needs, approximately 10,000 of these families will be helped in paying for care. On the same basis, the Red Cross will also receive approximately 60,000 requests a year for help in obtaining medical care for children under 18, with financial assistance being given to about 12,000. Information obtained from the Red Cross area offices in January 1952 indicates that the situation in general has remained comparatively stable since the 1951 study was made, with some indication of spotty increases. In the Pacific area, for example, there was an impression of a gradual upward trend in requests for maternity and medical care for wives and

children of servicemen as the strength of the Armed Forces increased.

The local Red Cross chapters try to help the families who are not eligible for financial assistance by talking over with them the other resources which may be available to them and helping them whenever possible to work out a plan for themselves. There have been no follow-up studies, however, to find out how these families actually managed; whether the plan they worked out for themselves resulted in satisfactory care; whether they decided to put off going to the doctor because they did not want to ask for services at reduced rates or for free care; whether they incurred debts which could be paid only by stinting on other essential expenditures for themselves or their children.

We do have some material, however, which throws light on this situation. Local Red Cross chapters have reported many instances where wives travel long distances to a military hospital, find it increasingly difficult to make the trip by bus or train in the last months of pregnancy, feel panicky because the baby might come before they could get to the hospital, yet do not make other arrangements close to home because they have no other resource.

The Red Cross reported that during the nine-month period ending March 31, 1951, their expenditures for emergency needs of servicemen's families were 30 percent higher than in the comparable nine months of the preceding year. The recent inquiry indicated the requests for help were not lessening, and in some areas may be increasing. We know that any family that cannot meet its usual needs when its allotment check is delayed is going to have a hard time paying for medical care.

Dr. Eliot then reported on a Los Angeles study of hospital costs, which was undertaken for the purpose of finding out how wives of servicemen in the seven lowest pay grades were managing to pay hospital costs for maternity care.

She pointed out, however, that hospital care is, of course, only a part of maternity care. There is the doctor to pay, the layette to buy. There are many other essential costs when there is a baby in the family. It is small wonder that 75 percent of the men covered by the Department of Defense survey were worried about how they would manage after the baby came.

Dr. Eliot then dealt with the local services and pointed out that "wives and infants of servicemen may, of course receive whatever care is available under the maternal and child health programs in the communities where they live in the same way as other mothers and children, to the extent that such services are available. Wives may go to the prenatal clinics; they can take their children to the well child clinics, the services of the public health nurses are available to them. In larger cities, these health services are more commonly provided than in small towns and rural areas."

Dr. Eliot said:

In general, however, the established State maternal and child health programs administered under Title V of the Social Security Act do not provide delivery care for mothers as part of their services. In two or three States care for complications of pregnancy is provided under these programs. A few States have certain special limited programs for conditions such as prematurity or for children with visual, hearing or other handicaps, or pediatric clinics, but coverage within each State is far from complete. The fact that the kinds of services needed are not generally available within the maternal and child health programs accounts for the fact that State health department officials reported last fall that they were receiving relatively few appeals for help from servicemen's wives. People must turn to the place where they think help is available—hence they go to the Red Cross which estimates it will be receiving about 110,000 requests for maternity care alone over a year's period.

Federal funds appropriated in the maternal and child health program amounted to \$13,200,000 for fiscal year 1951. In fiscal year 1952, this was decreased to \$12,524,000. These funds are currently being used for the ongoing maternal and child health programs in the States. . . . It is obvious that no sizeable dent could be made in the problem of providing maternity and infant care for wives and infants of servicemen with the amount of funds which are available in these programs.

In comparing the proposed program with the EMIC program, Dr. Eliot said:

With respect to services to be provided and persons who would be covered, the proposals

which you have under consideration are similar to the Emergency Maternity and Infant Care program of World War II with two major differences. One of these differences is that only infants under one year were included in the previous program, while the present proposal includes pre-school children up to five years of age. The other major difference is that wives and infants of enlisted men in the seven lowest pay grades are covered in this bill as contrasted with those of men in the four lowest pay grades last time. Both of these liberalizations are very desirable.

During the last program, mothers frequently raised a question about why their pre-school children were excluded. They emphasized the importance of getting good medical care for their children during these formative years. They explained that it was difficult for them to go to work to help pay for medical care when they had a small baby or pre-school children. Wives of enlisted men in the higher pay grades also frequently pointed out that it was as much of a problem for them to get care as for the wives of men in the four lowest pay grades, and that they were not enough better off financially to afford good care.

The World War II program was in effect from 1943 through fiscal year 1947. (Liquidation of the program was in process for two years longer to permit providing care to wives and children eligible as of June 30, 1947.) The program was administered by the State health departments under plans approved by the Children's Bureau. Complete health and medical care, including physicians, hospital and nursing services, were made available as needed.

Well over a million babies were born under the program. At the height of the program about 80 percent of the wives and newborn infants eligible for care were receiving benefits. About a quarter of a million infants were provided health service or medical care when sick. The over-all cost of the program during the entire period of its operation was approximately \$125,000,000. At the height of the program within a single year over 48,000 physicians and 5,000 hospitals participated in the program and were paid for services.

In the last three years of the Emergency Maternity and Infant Care program, the average cost of maternity care was about \$100. We estimate that the average cost of the same kind of care would be at least twice as much now. The average cost of care for infants under

one year of age, other than care of newborn infants which is included in the maternity care figure, was approximately \$65. This figure will also be substantially higher at this time. There were a few instances where costs were more than \$1,000, but the advantage of the program was that it was possible to provide whatever the doctor said was necessary to save a mother's or a baby's life.

Wives went to the doctor of their choice if he was participating in the program. The hospital that the doctor and the mother decided upon was used if the hospital met minimum requirements. Mothers got good maternity care. Babies were well looked after, and the soldier was relieved of worry as to whether his family would get care when it was needed.

Doctors and hospitals cooperated in the program generously and an enormous amount of good medical care was provided. Many women's lives were saved by transfusions and other medical procedures. There was great satisfaction among the servicemen and their wives. . . .

I remember the many mothers who wrote us, or whom we saw at one time or another during the program, who had normal deliveries but who were in new communities and did not know where to turn. They asked the local health department officials to help them and were soon under the care of a doctor. I remember, too, letters from mothers whose babies had been sick and who did not know what to do, and then found the resources of the program available to help them.

These were the "benefits" of the program—"benefits" not only in terms of medical care received but in the relief of a harrowing anxiety. . . .

### CELLAR DWELLINGS

For more than half a century, housing investigations have come and gone. Most of them have dealt with "Cellar Tenements," and it is discouraging to find a recent statement in the *New York Times* pointing out that cellar dwellings were on the increase. Part of the *Times* article was as follows:

The Department of Health, alarmed over the increasing number of people who are living in cellars because of the housing shortage, announced plans yesterday to crack down on landlords renting such squalid accommodations. The agency defines a cellar as a place where

more than half of the distance between the floor and the ceiling is below street level.

As part of the all-out drive, which will be joined by other city bureaus, the Health Department has started mailing letters to 40,000 owners of buildings in Manhattan warning that "the use of cellars for sleeping or residence purposes" is a violation of the Sanitary Code, punishable upon conviction by a fine not exceeding \$500 or imprisonment up to one year, or both.

A spokesman for the department said no estimate was available of the number in the city who had set up housekeeping in cellars. He pointed out that in a spot check survey in three sections of Manhattan by Health Department inspectors it was found that from 12 to 39 per cent of cellars in the areas studied were being used as apartments.

In Harlem, 840 buildings were inspected and 325 cellars were found in use as homes; in the West Side area below Eighteenth Street 332 cellars in 2,673 buildings were rented, and on the East Side below Eighty-sixth Street ninety-seven cellars in 740 buildings were occupied. In all three sections, the inspectors said, cellar living quarters were on the increase. When the campaign is well under way in Manhattan, the Health Department added, the drive will be extended to Brooklyn and the Bronx.

The Assistant Health Commissioner said that in many of the cellars tenants were living "in almost primitive conditions, without even the minimum amount of light or ventilation and without toilet and washing facilities." Persons in these "apartments," according to him, paid rents ranging up to \$40 a month, while "roomers" paid as much as \$20 a week.

### TAXES AND PHILANTHROPIC GIVING

*Channels* in a recent issue asked "Will increased taxes cause a decrease in philanthropic giving?" This is the published comment:

With the passage of the new tax bill a lot of people associated with organizations which depend on private contributions are asking that question again. Here is one answer, by the John Price Jones Company, public relations and fund-raising organization operating in the philanthropic field for more than thirty years:

"In 1951 the total of philanthropy may be

adversely affected by higher taxes, but, if this becomes true, it will be against precedent," the Company said in a statement responding to queries it has been getting. "Higher taxes may affect the total contributions of some individuals but, in the main experience seems to indicate if there is a good case for philanthropy, there is no reason to anticipate any recession in total giving in 1951, when national income may reach \$263 billion."

Corporate giving shows no signs of returning to pre-war levels, and *there is evidence of intent by business leaders to give more liberally than in the past*, the statement declares. "Corporations in 1951, under excess profits taxation, may take more complete advantage of tax deductions allowable for contributions and also increase the contributions chargeable to operation."

Examining the records of the past as the basis of judging the future, the Company points out that between 1922 (the first year for which statistics on contributions by income-tax payers are available) and 1948 (the last year for which complete information is available), "there were more taxpayers and more income, but there was also increased taxation; philanthropy does not appear to have suffered from the upward trend in taxes." In 1927, estimated total philanthropy stood at about \$2½ billion; in 1950 it is estimated at over \$4 billion.

#### THE PRESIDENT OF A GREAT CORPORATION ON THE ISSUE OF CORRUPTION

Dr. Oliver C. Carmichael, president of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, puts up squarely to the faculties of our colleges and universities the revelations of low standards, corruption, and crime in our society and of scandals in our colleges. In the Foundation's forty-sixth annual report, he points out that the United States, with only 7 per cent of the world's population, "has more young men and women in college than all the rest of the world combined," and he comments:

The recent revelations of low standards in high places, of outright corruption in public office, of widespread organization of gambling and crime, of basketball and football scandals and of the honor code violations, should surely be sufficient to arouse the American people and to shock educational leaders into a re-examina-

tion of their goals and methods. . . . These are but symptoms of a collapse of moral and spiritual values which should stir to action parents of children, leaders in public affairs, schools, colleges and churches.

Educational institutions have perhaps the greatest opportunity to contribute to the improvement of the situation. . . . College and university faculties have an unusual opportunity in the present situation to reiterate and re-emphasize the importance of moral and spiritual values in the teaching of youth, and in their efforts to improve the curriculum and methods of instruction.

Dr. Carmichael also calls attention in his last report to another basic problem calling for action by educators, which is, of course, the current threat to academic freedom created by the "finger of suspicion" being pointed at the loyalty of educational personnel. "At a time when teachers' oaths, Congressional hearings involving university professors, and calls for loyalty investigations of faculties fill the headlines, the most obvious and acute problem of higher education is that of maintaining the traditional freedom of inquiry and of teaching."

"Those who demand the protection of the American tradition of freedom in order to be able to accomplish its overthrow deserve no consideration or sympathy," he continues. That there are few such in American institutions, Dr. Carmichael points out, is attested by the fact that after more than five years of agitation and investigation, only a handful of professors have been dismissed from their posts for lack of loyalty.

"But the finger of suspicion has been pointed at thousands of others whose loyalty is attested by lifelong devotion to American ideals. More than that, many have been deprived of their livelihood or their reputation because of unsubstantiated but widely publicized charges. . . . To brand a man by an involuntary association of that kind is to violate the American spirit in favor of communistic methods. . . ."

Dr. Carmichael adds:

The climate of opinion which permits such folly is designed to stifle academic freedom and thus to abrogate one of the great American traditions. . . . It is of concern to all who cherish the tradition of free enterprise in all its aspects.

... Too few laymen have recognized and come to the defense of the basic freedoms involved in the threat to academic freedom through both legislation and intimidation.

Also included in the section entitled "Some Educational Dilemmas" are four other problems, Dr. Carmichael stating that "the solution in each case is clearly a faculty responsibility." The first of these "educational conflicts" he considers under the heading: "Depth versus Breadth in Scholarship." Pointing out that "this has been the subject of hot debate" ever since Harvard and Brown introduced the elective system some seventy-five years ago, he says that the problem has spread in recent years to the graduate schools. One of his comments on this subject is as follows:

To avoid superficiality only small segments of knowledge are explored. Although these relate to the major issues of life and thought, that relation is rarely pointed out. Youth is kept so busy digging around the separate roots of the real issues, he never looks up to see the tree; indeed, his attention is rarely directed toward it. This constitutes one essential difference between the new and the old curriculum.

Taking "Discovery versus Dissemination of Knowledge" as his second "conflict," Dr. Carmichael writes that emphasis on scientific and technical research as a university function "has influenced largely the American university pattern as we know it today." This trend has developed over the last fifty years, and "the complaint is that the shift in emphasis from teaching to administration and research in many universities has reduced teaching to a secondary or tertiary position in the scale of accepted values. Too often the sentiment prevails that any ordinary person can teach while only scholarly people can do research."

Another subject that Dr. Carmichael opens up for examination and discussion is "The Immediate versus the Remote Objective in Learning." He starts off with the premise that the relation between these two objectives is "an ever-present problem in the education of youth. . . . It underlies the conflict between vocational and liberal edu-

cation, but goes much deeper and ramifies into other areas."

The concluding question in the main section of Dr. Carmichael's report is "Faculty versus Administration in Determining Educational Policy." In the British university system, he points out, a president with indefinite tenure and a board of trustees are unknown, the administrative leadership being supplied by a faculty member who serves for a few years and then returns to his teaching. He explains this further.

"The American plan," he says, "has many advantages over the British. But it has one fundamental defect—a lack of adequate faculty participation in the determination of educational policy. . . . Those who make the budget largely determine the emphasis, and, in the long run, the educational direction of the institution."

Pointing out that "under the present system it is everybody's business and hence nobody's business, on most campuses, to study the impact on the student of the college experience as a whole," he continues:

Yet there is no doubt that the intellectual, moral and spiritual tone of an institution is more important than its libraries and laboratories, its classrooms and student centers, or even its researchers and publications. Clearly this matter should be a central concern of the faculties and some means should be devised, not only of stimulating that concern, but of translating the findings growing out of it into the spirit and atmosphere of the campus. Such a device would go far toward providing the faculty with an opportunity to contribute to educational policy in a strategic area.

There is much that is useful and stimulating in the report of this great Foundation. Founded in 1905 by the late Andrew Carnegie to provide retirement allowances and widows' pensions for professors in American colleges, the Foundation was also given in its charter the function of providing advisory and consultative services in higher education to assist in matters which tend "to encourage, uphold and dignify the profession of the teacher and the cause of higher education." Since the first retiring allowance was voted in 1906 a total of 4,949 such al-



lowances and widows' pensions have been granted, the payments having totaled nearly \$60,000,000. The Foundation's total assets amounted to \$12,874,718 on June 30, the close of its fiscal year for which the report is now published.

#### NOTES FROM THE PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS

The George Warren Brown School of Social Work, Washington University, St. Louis, has announced the organization of a program leading to the degree of Doctor of Social Work. At present "only students will be admitted who wish to give major attention to the research aspects of social work."

The Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin has announced that the University's department of social work has become the University of Wisconsin School of Social Work. Chairman Arthur P. Miles of the former department of social work became the first director of the new school. The school continues within the framework of the College of Letters and Science, where it has functioned as a department since 1946.

Organized instruction in the field of social work has been offered on the UW campus since 1920. As early as 1896, however, the department of economics gave courses in "charities and corrections," so the new school represents an administrative evolution of more than half a century of educational interest in this field.

The department trains men and women for positions of professional responsibility in public and private agencies through its two-year course of graduate study leading to the degree of Master of Science in social work.

The undergraduate preprofessional major is said to have a threefold purpose: to train those who wish to prepare for graduate study, those preparing for junior professional positions in social work at the end of four college years, and those readying themselves for civic usefulness in their communities.

Through extension courses and institutes,

the department provides professional stimulation to employed social workers in the state.

Since the department was established in 1946, it has graduated 206 students with Bachelors' degrees and 116 with degrees of Master of Science. Twelve full-time and eighteen part-time instructors now teach the classes on the campus and in the Milwaukee branch at the extension center.

Dr. Miles, who has been at Wisconsin since 1944, was graduated from the University of Illinois and received his Ph.D. from Chicago in 1940. He has been case worker and county administrator for the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission and regional social statistician for the Social Security Board. He has taught at the University of Missouri, Louisiana State University, and Tulane.

Last year the American Association of Schools of Social Work entered into a contract with the Technical Co-operation Administration of the Department of State to undertake a survey of the educational programs of the schools of social work of Colombia, South America; and the survey has been made by Miss Anna E. King, dean of the School of Social Service, Fordham University, and the Very Reverend Monsignor John J. McClafferty, dean of the National Catholic School of Social Service, Catholic University of America.

We regret to report that two of the professional schools have announced that their programs are to be discontinued because of high costs of supporting a good program. These schools are (1) Carnegie Institute of Technology, Department of Social Work, Pittsburgh (the school was a charter member of the AASSW) and (2) the University of Manitoba, School of Social Work, Winnipeg, Canada (the school was accredited and admitted to membership in the AASSW in 1949). The recent action came as a surprise to school director and faculty, who were working on plans to make it a two-year rather than a one-year school. It is reported

that certain community groups are attempting to get reconsideration of the decision.

We hear that the Army is trying to secure more social work officers.

The Medical Service now has 165 professional social work officers on duty in this country, Europe, and the Far East, but needs at least 100 more to carry out its expanded program, Major General George E. Armstrong, MC, Army Surgeon General, reported March 7, 1952. Sixty-four of those now on duty are medical social work specialists while the rest are psychiatric social workers. Twenty-four female officers are serving in the program, General Armstrong said.

The program is under the supervision of Lieutenant Colonel Leslie E. Starks, MSC, and Major Barbara B. Hodges, MSC, chiefs, respectively, of the Social Services Branch and the Medical Social Work Section of the Psychiatry and Neurology Consultants Division in the Office of the Surgeon General.

*Eligibility for commissions.*—Men and women who have a Master's degree in social work from a graduate school offering a two-year curriculum, accredited by the American Association of Schools of Social Work, meet the minimum professional qualifications for appointment as social work officers. No prior military service is required.

*Assignments.*—Social work officers are now serving in all large named Army hospitals and in 40 post, camp, and station hospitals in this country. They are also stationed at base hospitals in Germany, Austria, Trieste, Japan, and Korea, and other overseas areas. In addition, they are assigned to mental hygiene consultation services, United States disciplinary barracks, convalescent centers, and neuro-psychiatric combat teams.

Army social work officers are working closely with military psychiatrists, clinical psychologists, and medical officers in developing comprehensive preventive psychiatry programs at large training camps in the United States and other posts where new recruits are making the difficult transition from civilian to Army life.

The Army Medical Service believes that the co-ordinated approach adopted by its newly formed preventive psychiatry teams will prove valuable in screening out men who might subsequently develop clinical psychoses under the strain of combat.

The principal limitation on the social work program of the Army today is the critical lack of trained personnel. The 100 additional social workers now sought are needed to put the program in operation at all levels in this country, and still more officers are needed to expand the effort in overseas installations.

The American Foundation for the Blind has announced a fellowship program to support and encourage research in work with the blind. A number of \$1,500 awards are to be made annually and are intended primarily for graduate students who are working toward advanced degrees in colleges and universities. The recipients themselves need not be blind but may be either blind or sighted. Five of these fellowships will be awarded in the first year.

It is planned that the fellowships will support research in such areas as the adjustment, counseling, and training of blind persons and the attitudes of sighted people toward the blind. The investigations may deal with any age group, from infants and preschool children through individuals of advanced years.

The objectives of the fellowship program are said to be as follows: to encourage promising research workers to investigate problems and issues concerning the blind, to contribute to the professional growth of such individuals, to foster the development of an objective approach to the problems of the blind, and to help replace popular opinions about blindness with conclusions based on objective exploration and experimentation.

The American Printing House for the Blind functions as the agent (since 1879) through which the federal government provides Braille textbooks, apparatus, and other educational materials for the education of blind children in public schools and classes for the blind throughout the country. Since 1937 the federal appropriation has been \$125,000, which is apportioned among the schools and classes on a per capita basis. The Printing House produces the books and materials and makes them available at cost.

A special subcommittee of the House Education Committee held brief hearings in the latter part of 1951 on a bill (H.R. 1499) to increase the maximum annual federal appropriation to \$250,000. The principal reasons given in justification of the proposed increase are: (1) Since 1942 production costs have more than doubled. (2) There is increasing use of more effective but expensive mediums for education of the blind, such as talking-books, large-type books for the near-blind, and new types of mechanical aids. (3) Blind-school population is on the increase.

The Superintendent of the Printing House stated: "The results of increased costs, as well as increased need, have greatly restricted the materials which the schools and classes obtain from the American Printing House for the Blind, and a large majority of them lack adequate supplies for the use of their children." Actually, over 25 per cent of the 84 schools and classes have already consumed their quota allotments for the current fiscal year, and only three or four have any appreciable credit left to meet their needs during the next nine months. Thus a grave emergency is presented. At the close of the hearing, the members of the subcommittee indicated that they would recommend that the full committee take favorable action on this legislation at an early date.

*Applied Statistics* is the name of a new journal that is to be published for the British Royal Statistical Society and edited on the

Society's behalf by Mr. L. H. C. Tippett. The new journal is intended to appeal to those, said to be large in number in the modern world, who are everyday consumers and users of statistics, as well as to the producers. The announcement of the new journal reminds us that the more mathematically trained statistician has long been well served, both in the Royal Statistical Society's journals and in many other excellent technical publications. But there are said to be workers in many fields, whether professional statisticians or not, who are interested in the applications of statistical methods—applications that are no less valuable because they may be simple to the statistician. *Applied Statistics* is planned to meet the needs of such people.

A recent bulletin of the AASW publishes data showing the 1951 enrolment figures for schools of social work. A total of 4,195 full-time students were enrolled in schools of social work as of November 1, 1951, a decline of 3 per cent from the preceding year, according to figures compiled by AASW from the graduate schools of social work. Thirty-one out of the fifty-one schools in the United States enrolled fewer students than last year, suggesting a falling-off in the effective demand for social work education. This is accounted for partially by the decline in students receiving GI educational benefits, the number of GI students having declined from 1,376 in 1950 to 984 in 1951, a 28 per cent drop. Almost 150 of the students enrolled in schools of social work during the current year are from foreign countries.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### THE SOCIAL WORKER "TYPE"?

To the Editor:

American anthropologists, with the aid of scout leaders and physical-culture specialists, have been reviving, in a sense, the notions of the forgotten nineteenth-century Italian anthropologist Lombroso, who has been regarded for some time as rather a pseudo-scientist, respecting the existence of distinct physical types—and stigmata—the artist type, the banker type, the scholar type, the criminal type, etc. It appears also that there is a social worker type, and he, or she, is described briefly as follows: "Teachers or welfare workers are likely to be lean, lightly muscled and lightly built. Over the years, the more muscular stay on, whereas the less muscular take up other pursuits."

This is interesting as far as it goes—which is not very far—but hardly important or relevant to any problem of concern to welfare workers. Residents and ex-residents of Chicago's social settlements will naturally think of the physique of such leaders as Jane Addams, Graham Taylor, Grace Abbott, Raymond Robins, Mrs. Florence Kelley, Harriet Vittum, Mary McDowell, and others, who were not "typical" in the above sense. New York social workers will think of the Henry Street Nurses' Settlement and its head residents and of the Greenwich Settlement under Mary Simkhovitch.

Our anthropologists appear to overlook the tendency to *embonpoint* in middle age. The lean, svelte, lightly built graduates of schools of social service administration do not escape that tendency. Is there a special diet, with fast days, for welfare workers?

Not all social workers are always solemn, serious, and altruistic. Not all of them hitch their wagons to the stars and go about their work with a deep sense of dedication. The volunteer amateur welfare worker was a nineteenth-century product, as was the original social settlement. Today the field is occupied by professional, trained workers, and they are more efficient and methodical than those of two generations ago. Motives are taken for granted. Love of one's neighbor is not proclaimed from the housetops. There is no preaching to the beneficiaries or to anyone else. A job is a job. There is no money in social or welfare work, and to be attracted by it, and stay in it, are possible only to those who are interested in human beings, who are natural democrats and believers in social justice and in enlightened charity, in St. Paul's sense of the term. The "lean and hungry look" is not cultivated or expected. Plumpness and moderate stoutness are not incompatible with first-rate service and either personal or institutional success.

VICTOR S. YARROS

La Jolla, California

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Our Age of Unreason: A Study of the Irrational Forces in Social Life.* By FRANZ ALEXANDER, M.D. 2d ed. rev. Philadelphia and New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1951. Pp. 338. \$4.50.

As in the instance of Dr. Alexander's first work on this subject, this second book has significance for social work far beyond the scope of a brief commentary. The basic concepts of the earlier work are carried forward into this period following two wars when "insecurity accompanies the rapidity of social change and there results a universal regressive trend away from free society to paternalistic forms of government." The author argues even more strongly than in his earlier work that the development of the social sciences is more urgent than technical advance. Through the latter man has created greater means for survival and conditions of life which could well operate for the development of "an enlightened social conscience which knows no economic, linguistic or racial barriers."

A central theme gives cohesion to the author's discussion of the history of political thought, the theory of emotional disturbances, and the psychological analysis of social systems and events. It is comprised of the two fundamental principles of surplus and inertia. Through the creative expenditure of surplus energy, man continuously changes the world in which he lives but then has to adapt himself to the new conditions that he has created. In this he has to struggle against the propensity to continue to live according to automatisms, habits, and traditions. His instrument for adaptation is his intellect, which comprehends the new situation and may or may not bring about the essential changes in his behavior, depending on his emotional growth.

The author both specifies and implies the many stresses, deprivations, frustrations which obstruct personality growth, thus causing inertia to mount. Hence one sees widespread adherence to older adaptations; and, because these no longer satisfy his needs, he is frustrated and is forced to make new efforts to use his intellect for

readjustment. These efforts, in the current scene, often result in neurotic defenses. He states, "Neurosis is the sign of succumbing to inertia and of vainly trying to evade novel and necessary adaptations by adhering or regressing to older behavior patterns." He postulates that in social life cultural lags have the same significance. Dr. Alexander's delineation of the specific cultural lags and of the educational development of psychological attitudes indicated has significance for social work.

Social workers will be particularly interested in Part III, "From Unreason to Reason," in which the author presents among other noteworthy chapters one on "A Dynamic Sociology in the Making" and one on "The Emotional Structure of a Democracy." The implications of these discussions for professional education and very particularly for social work education are beyond the scope of this review. Social work deals with individuals for whom the stress of life has been too great. In performing its function of helping people master adversity in order to live more productively it suffers the restrictive impact of community lags, which obtain both in the institutions and systems that it administers and in its supporting public. As a profession it is peculiarly insecure but has growing awareness of its responsibility to awaken, identify with, and support the social conscience. The profession is aware also that this implies understanding the community's fears, wherein they are realistic and wherein phobic, in order to deal with them appropriately.

This book together with the author's earlier work, both are strongly recommended to social work educators for continuity in and integration of our areas of learning, notably, social case work, social group work, and social welfare administration. Once more social work is deeply indebted to Dr. Alexander for a penetrating contribution, one which could well extend and deepen our understanding.

CHARLOTTE TOWLE

University of Chicago



*Regional Organization of the Social Security Administration: A Case Study.* By JOHN A. DAVIS. New York: Columbia University Press, 1950. Pp. 315. \$4.00.

Dr. Davis, who at the time of the publication of this volume was a visiting lecturer at Ohio State University, presents a painstaking and thoughtful account of the experiments of the Social Security Board and its successor, the Social Security Administration, directed toward the consolidation and co-ordination of the field activities carried on in the nation-wide system of regional offices which were set up to administer the multifunctional social security program. The book contains a great deal of factual information not generally available with respect to the growing pains and the evolutionary process through which this federal agency dealt imaginatively and creatively with the organizational problems familiar to the administration of governmental agencies at all levels, in which the responsibilities of the organization must be discharged through field activities. The document is indeed a study in relationships within bureaus, between bureaus, between field and central offices, and between top administrative staff and bureau directors and their regional representatives in the field.

The discussion of the practical modifications of the traditional administrative concepts related to "unity of command" by the introduction and expansion of the "doctrine of dual supervision" seems to indicate that in this agency, at least, a man *can*, if he must, "serve two masters" and that with proper safeguards this process may effectively contribute to sound over-all administration.

The dynamics of the organizational process, as it operated in the building of a new multifunctional federal agency with far-flung nationwide responsibilities carried on through a multiple regional organization, will provide stimulating reading for students of administration—especially those interested in the theoretical aspects of the problems involved. The average busy administrator involved in the day-by-day emergencies of operation may find himself impatient with the necessity to "mine" for the concepts which would be helpful to him in a solution of problems of division of responsibility, field operation and organization, etc.

In the Introduction, the author points out that "the treatment of the regional organization . . . is entirely in terms of organizational problems. The volume deals with such matters

as the effect of central organization upon regional organization, the determination of regional headquarters and geographical area, the determination of lines of supervision, the problems which functionalization introduces into field supervision especially in the administration of federal-state programs, the difficulties of field coordination, clearance, communication and control, and the nature of general regional command."

One regrets that, as is so often the pattern in such undertakings, "the volume is not concerned with the content or the techniques of the substantive jobs executed on the regional level by the various bureaus of the Social Security Board and the Social Security Administration, since the object is not to discuss regional administration in terms of federal-state relations or programs and nationally administered programs, but in terms of organizational matters." Is it not this perhaps necessary but artificial and oft recurring dichotomy between structure and function which so often divests the literature in the field of public administration of the spark of life which would make it most meaningful to the average student of the subject? One regrets, also, that, as in so many treatises of this nature, the really exciting and complex, and often colorful, problems of public administration must seemingly so frequently be clothed in a ponderous terminology, which seems to substitute vocabulary poundage for clarity of expression and thereby to remove a certain degree of vitality from the process under consideration. Is this done in the interests of objectivity, is it because a definitive vocabulary in the field is yet to be developed, or is it, perhaps, because the "principles" which would tend to make public administration a "profession" have not yet been fully defined and that such top-heavy verbiage is an occupational disability not peculiar to public administration but common to all young and struggling "professions"?

Historical and descriptive data obtained through agency records, through personal interviews with agency representatives and from other pertinent literature, reveal the meticulous effort which went into this case study project in the year and a half which Dr. Davis devoted to direct observation of the Board and the Social Security Administration at Washington and in the regional offices. The footnotes present a most valuable guide to the serious student who wishes to undertake further study of the literature of public administration and the subjects

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under consideration. Generally, one has little reason to question the conclusions reached by the author, although the factual data to substantiate them are not always given in the text. An example of such unsubstantiated statements is found in the evaluation of the regional directors, found in chapter x on pages 267-68. Here, as in certain such instances elsewhere, the rather natural reaction of the reader is a skeptical, "Sez who?"

Chapters iii, vi, and vii entitled respectively, "The Evolution of the Organizational Pattern of the Social Security Administration," "The Determination of Lines of Supervision," and "The Difficulties and Advantages of Functionalization" are perhaps the most rewarding to the reader. It is in these chapters that the complexity of the organizational problems and the evidence of creative thinking on the part of both the agency representatives and the author stand out most clearly.

PHYLLIS OSBORN

University of Chicago

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*Essentials in Interviewing: For the Interviewer Offering Professional Services.* By ANNE F. FENLASON. New York: Harper & Bros., 1952. Pp. xi+352. \$4.00.

This book, published posthumously, was prepared by Miss Fenlason out of the teaching notes and materials which she developed over a number of years in her teaching of undergraduate students at the University of Minnesota. It is a textbook which aims to identify and describe those processes that are considered to be common to interviewing in a range of professions, a range including public health nurses, industrial counselors, "mental hygienists," social case workers, social scientists, etc. It has two parts: the first, in which the knowledges, methods, and skills of interviewing are named, described, and, at points, exemplified; the second, the larger section, which consists of a collection of interviews or parts of interviews from a variety of settings, each of which is to be studied in the light of concepts or principles governing interviewing. To each chapter is appended a list of questions and exercises which the student may use or the instructor may require as a means of testing and involving the student more intimately in an understanding of the chapter's content, and along with this is a list of supplementary readings. The interviews,

which have been selected to demonstrate both good and bad practices, are drawn from literature as well as from professional records and are a lively and engaging group of dialogues.

In the brief Foreword to her second section, Miss Fenlason wrote: "A real knowledge of the professional use of the interview must be derived from supervised practice, integrated with content of the discipline for which the student is preparing." Because this is true and because in his professional education the student of social work will from the first be exposed to and exercised in the application of interviewing purposes and methods, this book can have only small value for social case-work students or practitioners. At an undergraduate level, in preparation for those service professions that have given less study than has social work to the interview as a means of helping people, this book may well achieve Miss Fenlason's stated purpose: to give the worker "an incentive to know more about himself, the people with whom he works, and the interviewing method."

HELEN HARRIS PERLMAN

University of Chicago

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*Theory and Practice of Social Case Work.* 2d ed. rev. By GORDON HAMILTON. New York: Columbia University Press, 1951. Pp. vii+328. \$4.00.

Miss Hamilton identifies several developments as making necessary a "radical revision" of her earlier work, first published in 1940, notably: advances in psychiatry and the social sciences which have steadily clarified the interaction of environmental forces and conflicts; the impact of ego psychology as it has developed from psychoanalytic procedure; and the emergence of "functional case work" as a definitive school of thought.

In the Preface the author comments that the social worker traditionally concerned with environment is today committed not only to understand the structure and dynamics of personality but also to *rediscover* the use of environmental or social therapy. As far as this author is concerned, rediscovery is not involved even though it is definitely indicated in many areas of practice. Throughout the years Gordon Hamilton's writings have shown a continuous orientation to individual in social situation. Her former discussions of social work theory and

practice consistently have shown a fine integration of the psychological and the social, therefore use of environment or social therapy is not a new element in this work. There is, however, repeated explicit acknowledgment of the importance of culture factors, a new thread reflecting our culture conscious times. Within the complex of social factors to be dealt with throughout social case-work practice she now specifies and underscores "culture." As could be expected, this emphasis does not occasion a radical revision in the author's thinking. Culture concepts have not been a foreign element difficult to reconcile with the basic theory of those social workers who have derived their thinking from Richmond and Freud; in fact they have been so deeply implicit as to have suffered anonymity. It is not surprising therefore that, although Miss Hamilton now makes "culture" explicit, it does not readily meet the reader's eye wherein this element has effected any basic change in the practice which she defines and describes.

Beyond the rearrangement of content, the deletion of much case material, and the elaboration of multidiscipline practice, perhaps the greatest change in this new work occurs in the chapter on "Methods of Treatment." This is brought about through recognition that as psychotherapy has been differentiated from psychoanalysis, the psychosocial treatment of the social worker and the socially-culturally oriented therapy of many psychiatrists can be less sharply articulated. With considerable clarity Miss Hamilton defines the scope of social work treatment and delineates its methods briefly but comprehensively.

From the standpoint of a contribution to the ongoing history of social work this book is of great value to the profession as a whole. The author portrays social work functioning in a widening and deepening context, hence one gets a sense of its growth. The rich documentation as well as the author's perceptive recountal of trends, progressive and regressive, shows the evolution of social case work within social work, in relation to other professions and within a changing society. This volume together with her earlier one serve as annals of social case work from the standpoint of an eminent teacher, and as such comprise an invaluable contribution to students of social work, today and tomorrow. In educational programs the extent and depth of the presentation make it essential that it be used for assigned readings selected with close reference to the progression in learning. Social

work educators are peculiarly indebted to Gordon Hamilton for twice undertaking the difficult task of formulating a basic social work process in a wide and complex context and for making a major contribution to the literature of our profession.

CHARLOTTE TOWLE

University of Chicago

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*Race Prejudice and Discrimination: Readings in Intergroup Relations in the United States.*  
 Edited by ARNOLD M. ROSE. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951. Pp. xi+605+vi. \$4.50 text ed.

This volume, according to the author's preface, is intended primarily for use in connection with college courses in intergroup relations "as supplementary to one of the existing textbooks in the field." Notwithstanding Professor Rose's modesty, this large book, which presents in considerable detail and effectively the different aspects of race prejudice and discrimination, their origins and consequences, is likely to prove amply adequate for most classroom purposes.

As the subtitle indicates, the book consists almost entirely of "readings in intergroup relations." Professor Rose himself, serving as editor, has contributed introductions to each of the book's five parts, in which he calls attention to the outstanding facts, theories, and policies developed by the articles in that particular section. He has also contributed two thought-provoking "readings," one in Part IV on "Anti-Semitism's Root in City Hatred" and another one, "The Influence of Legislation on Prejudice," in Part V. The rest of the book is made up of statements or articles by members of minority groups or by sociologists, psychologists, psychiatrists, and other experts in the fields it covers. Naturally they are of unequal quality and authority, but their cumulative effect is impressive and likely to evoke indignation and deep regret that such conditions should exist in our country.

Parts I, II, and III deal respectively with (1) minority problems in the United States, especially those of American Indians, Negroes, Orientals, Spanish-Americans, and Jews; (2) the kinds of discrimination—economic, legal, political, and social—to which they are subjected; and (3) group identification, minority communities and institutions, and minority adjustment or maladjustment. There has been much written

in recent years on these subjects, and the reader may be fairly familiar with these discussions; the very real value of the book in this connection is that it makes available in handy and compact form, material illustrative of the numerous aspects of the problem. Of the "readings" in these sections this reviewer was especially impressed by Horace R. Cayton's account of the humiliating experiences of a Negro intellectual, "The Psychology of the Negro under Discrimination," and the moving and pathetically naive letter sent to the President on March 28, 1949, by the chieftains of the Hopi Indian Empire, protesting, among other things, against this country's foreign policy which without their consent has committed them to a course of action which threatens "the divine plan of life laid down by the Great Spirit, Masau'u," a plan forbidding them "to harm, kill or molest anyone."

The subject matter of Part IV, "Perceptions of the Minority and the Causes of Prejudice," and, to a lesser degree, of Part V, "Proposed Techniques for Eliminating Minority Problems," will prove more unfamiliar to most readers and very thought provoking. Professor Rose's introduction to Part IV is noteworthy, especially his enumeration of the causes of prejudice and the waste, economic, moral, and spiritual, that it entails. He points out, for instance, that since two-thirds of the people of the world today are members of races toward whom Americans have much prejudice, our good-will policies toward them are largely nullified. Included in Part IV there is also a statement on race—"What it is and what it is not"—drafted at Unesco House, Paris, by a number of famous experts, and there are several articles by well-known psychologists and psychiatrists. Two of the items discussed in these articles are the "frustration-aggression" theory as to the origin of prejudice and the so-called "prejudiced personality." "When a group of people . . . feels frustrated, its substitute for the object of needed aggression must be something widely available and yet weak. Minority groups serve that function and become a scapegoat for the feelings of frustration" (p. 430). As for the "prejudiced personality," Professor Rose points out that "a number of studies during the past decade have followed clues from psychiatry and clinical psychology and have sought a specific syndrome of personality traits arising out of a specific set of childhood experiences, as the source of prejudice."

In Part V a number of techniques for elimi-

nating prejudice and minority problems are proposed. Professor Rose himself believes in the efficacy of legislation against discriminatory practices; and there are those who advocate, among other things, interracial housing projects; work with children's groups since there is greater likelihood of eliminating prejudice among children than among adults; "catharsis," that is, the free expression of feelings, negative and positive, in the presence of an accepting adult: "with all the cards on the table, so to speak, the prejudiced person might not be so hostile to propaganda against prejudice," etc. A hopeful note is sounded in this section: in the opinion of Professor Rose and other contributors to Part V "both as the result of conscious effort and as the result of social changes occurring independently of minority problems, there is now taking place a rapid diminution of discrimination and prejudice in this country. It is difficult to perceive even rapid change when we are in the midst of it, but those who measure these things assure us that the change is occurring with increasing acceleration" (p. 535).

The book is indexed, and an appendix offers suggestions for further study, questions for discussion, and a list of brief research projects.

MARIAN SCHIBSBY

Fillmore, California

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*Warrior without Weapons.* By DR. MARCEL JUNOD. New York: Macmillan Co., 1951. Pp. xvi+283. \$4.00.

Dr. Junod is a Swiss physician whose work with the International Red Cross began in 1935 at the outbreak of the war in Abyssinia and continued through 1945, when he was sent to Japan. After the war he was active with the United Nations, Liaison Officer for the International Children's Emergency Fund, Chief of UNICEF's mission to China, and in 1949 he was associated with the World Health Organization. This book is not an official account of the activities of the International Red Cross but covers rather Dr. Junod's personal experiences. These he recounts in a detailed and vivid way so that the brutalities and horrors of war are made vivid.

In the brief Abyssinian conflict the author was connected with various Red Cross ambulance units. The insignia of the organization proved to be no protection, ambulances were



bombed and his life was frequently in danger. He was in Addis Ababa when the war ended and he saw the Italians enter the devastated city. His next assignment was in connection with the Spanish civil war, where he arranged for the exchange of Loyalist and Franco prisoners of war condemned to death (of whom the novelist, Arthur Koestler, was one) and also for the freeing of some civilians taken as hostages. Later, he was in and out of Germany and many other countries and traveled the long and arduous journey across Siberia to inspect American prison camps in Manchuria, where he interviewed General Wainwright. Finally, he was a member of the first delegation to visit Hiroshima after the atomic bombing.

The task of a delegate of the International Red Cross as revealed in this book was indeed a difficult one. Dr. Junod crossed many frontiers where no citizen of the belligerent countries was allowed to travel. His connections with the military authorities and his various inspections of the prisoners of war camps provided him with information not always directly related to his missions which would have been of value to the enemy country but which he could not divulge. As stated in the Introduction to the book, he and his associates formed "a third front above and cutting across the two belligerent fronts, a third front which works for the benefit of both. . . . They fight wherever they can against all inhumanity, against every degradation of the human personality, against all injustice directed against defenseless human beings." Such a task called for great patience, considerable diplomacy, courage, energy, and a devotion to the tenets of the International Red Cross, which Dr. Junod appears to have in full measure.

ELIZABETH WISNER

*School of Social Work  
Tulane University*

*Florence Nightingale, 1820-1910.* By CECIL WOODHAM-SMITH. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1951. Pp. 366. Bibliography and Index. \$4.50.

This biography of a highly complex personality, passionately active in a technical, far-flung, public field over a long span of years, is a rare performance. One is inclined to say that this book has everything that is desirable in a good book—historical authenticity, scholarly precision, acumen in judging matters of public ad-

ministration, keen understanding of human qualities both forward moving and obstructive, warm appreciation of the part taken by personal and family circumstances in shaping character, excellent writing, and delicious humor. On the other hand, Florence Nightingale was a subject worthy of such a biographer. Hers was a life that reached the heights of achievement and the depths of frustration, that experienced discriminating luxury and incredible hardship and austerity. Her life intimately touched those of great wealth and power and thousands of the poor and deprived. It would be hard to find in all history a person who covered a wider range of effective and truly interacting human contacts; prime ministers, highly competent public servants, common soldiers, dedicated physicians, finely trained nurses, purveyors to the Army, meanly scheming bureaucrats, harridans, slovenly orderlies, fashionable leisure-class women, college professors—were all within the range of her personal experience.

Florence Nightingale was one of the world's great artists in human relations, and as an artist she had plenty of temperament. But without resort to theatrical devices or pageantry, she brought an unfailing impact upon those whose attention she sought. She accomplished this largely by means of systematically seeking and copiously recording pertinent evidence and by pointing out the obvious implications of that evidence in terms of organization and procedures for the accomplishment of defined purposes, which have stood the test of time. It is true that those in responsible positions did not invariably carry out her proposals and suggestions, but they listened to her. For several decades after 1857, when her retirement as an invalid began, responsible officials and influential citizens sought her advice on plans for health services and medical care in military establishments and in civil administration both at home in England and abroad, especially in India.

This account of the long struggle to free a highly gifted person to put great talents and energies at the service of her nation contains material that cannot but elicit response from people whatever their own abilities and circumstances. But it should have particular appeal for those who are concerned with the administration of public services. Only a few illustrations can be mentioned here. The first comes from the experience with the supply system of the British Army during the Crimean War, the second from

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its health administration in time of peace, and the third from the arrangements for soldiers' allotments to their families. As Miss Nightingale wrote early in 1855, "Nursing is the least of the functions into which I have been forced."

At Scutari in the winter of 1854-55 the British soldiers suffered acutely because, though stores were available, they did not reach the men by reason of "regulations of the service." In her famous *Notes on Matters Affecting the Health, Efficiency and Hospital Administration of the British Army*, Miss Nightingale cites specific instances. Her biographer summarizes these of which only a part can be quoted here:

In January, 1855, when the army before Sebastopol was being ravaged by scurvy, a shipload of cabbages was thrown into the harbor at Balacava on the ground that it was not consigned to anyone. This happened not once but several times. . . . When green coffee was being issued to the men, there were 173,000 rations of tea in store at Balacava; 20,000 lb. of lime juice arrived for the troops on December 10, 1854, but none was issued until February. . . . On January 2, 1,200 sick men arrived in one consignment at Scutari. Eighty-five percent of these, wrote Miss Nightingale, were cases of acute scurvy. For want of lime juice and vegetables the men's teeth were dropping out; in some cases they were losing toes.

On January 8, at the height of the calamity she wrote: "I have written a plan for the systematic organisation of these Hospitals upon a principle of centralisation under which the component parts might be worked in unison. But on consideration deeming so great a change impracticable during the present heavy pressure of calamities here, I refrain from forwarding it, and substitute a sketch of a plan, by which great improvement might be made from within without abandoning the forms under which the service is carried on. . . ." Page after page of practical detailed suggestions follow, dealing with the reorganization of the Purveyor's department, the establishment of a corps of medical orderlies, the rearrangement and improvement of the cooking and service of the men's food, the establishment of a medical school at Scutari, where at present there was "no operating room, no dissecting room; post-mortem examinations are seldom made, and then in the dead house (the ablest Staff surgeon here told me that he considered he had killed hundreds of men owing to the absence of these)." Finally, she made an urgent plea for medical statistics. "No statistics are kept as to between what ages most deaths occur, as to modes of treatment, appearances of the body after death, etc., etc., etc. . . . Our registration is so lamentably defective that often the only record kept is—a man died on such and such a day."

The second illustration comes from her determination, after her return to England, to improve the health of the British Army. By 1857

she had collected figures which proved living conditions in the barracks of the British Army in time of peace to be so bad that the rate of mortality in the army was always double, and in some cases more than double, the rate of mortality of the civilian population outside. For instance, in the parish of St. Pancras the civil rate of mortality was 2.2 per 1,000. In the barracks of the Life Guards, situated in St. Pancras, the rate was 10.4. In the borough of Kensington the civil rate of mortality was 3.3. In the Kingsbridge barracks, situated in the borough of Kensington, the rate was 17.5. . . . "The Army are picked lives," she wrote. "The inferior lives are thrown back into the mass of the population. The civil population has all the loss, the Army has all the gain. Yet, with all this, the Army from which the injured lives are subtracted dies at twice the rate of mortality of the general population. 1,500 good soldiers are as certainly killed by these neglects yearly as if they were drawn up on Salisbury Plain and shot." In a phrase which became the battle-cry of the Reformers she declared: "Our soldiers enlist to death in the barracks."

The third illustration of her great gift for improving large-scale administration comes from her experience with the transmission of soldiers' allotments to their families.

She discovered the men drank their pay away because they were dissatisfied with the official method of sending money home through the Paymaster. Rightly or wrongly they believed they were defrauded and their ignorance exploited. . . . She made it a practice to sit in her room for one afternoon a week and receive the money of any soldier in the hospital who desired to send it home to his family. . . . About 1,000 pounds sterling a month was brought in. . . . When the men were discharged from hospital and rejoined their regiments in the Crimea, they wished to continue sending money home through the post. She submitted a scheme to the authorities, but it was refused.

In November, 1855, in her letter of thanks for Queen Victoria's brooch, she laid before the Queen the causes and remedies of the prevalent drunkenness in the army and the men's difficulties in remitting money home. On December 21 the Queen sent the letter down to a Cabinet meeting. . . . Palmerston, the Prime Minister thought it excellent, and Clarendon, the Foreign Secretary, said it was full of real stuff; but Panmure said it only showed that she knew nothing of the British soldier. The same day he wrote to Sir William Codrington, the Commander-in-Chief in the Crimea: "the great cry now, and Miss Nightingale inflames it, is that the men are too rich; granted, but it is added that they have no

means to remit their money home. In vain I point out that this is not true. . . . We have now offered the Post Office to them, but I am sure it will do no good. The soldier is not a remitting animal. . . ."

Lord Panmure proved wrong. [Four] offices where money orders could be obtained were opened . . . , and 71,000 pounds sterling was sent home in less than six months. "It was," said Miss Nightingale, "all money saved from the drink shops."

To those of us whose late Victorian concept of Florence Nightingale was that of "the lady with the lamp," the Lytton Strachey biographical essay published in 1929 came as something of a shock. She was not an angel at all, but instead, a tyrannical, though beneficent, reformer. Now comes this book whose author has had the benefit of a large collection of family letters, previously impounded. From this a new Florence Nightingale emerges. And suddenly we realize that here is a type of mind from which both public and voluntary administration could still greatly benefit, finely intelligent, superbly disciplined, exquisitely sensitive to the needs of the inarticulate masses of people, practical, indefatigable, boundlessly courageous, and, above all, willing at great personal cost, competently to gather evidence pertinent to the questions at issue in the administration of public services. It is just conceivable that this biography may help toward the release and appreciation of more such personalities.

NEVA R. DEARDORFF

*Health Insurance Plan of Greater  
New York*

*Militant Angel.* By HARRIETT BERGER KOCH.  
New York: Macmillan Co., 1951. Pp. xviii +  
167. \$3.00.

*Militant Angel* is a biography of Annie Warburton Goodrich, one of the outstanding personalities in American nursing. The author, while still a student nurse, was profoundly impressed by a speech given by Miss Goodrich in her eightieth year before the International Council of Nurses in Atlantic City in 1947; and immediately took steps to begin the collecting of material for this book; and, during the next few years spent considerable time with Miss Goodrich, interviewed friends and relatives, and was given access to certain private papers.

The result of this effort is a graphic and interesting portrayal written in a charming, narra-

tive style. The author has organized the material in six parts to correspond to six periods in Miss Goodrich's life. The first part presents her childhood and youth, including her experiences as a student nurse; the second part deals with her early professional career, during which time she served as director of nursing service and the nursing school at New York Post-Graduate Hospital, St. Luke's Hospital, New York Hospital, and at Bellevue and allied hospitals. Here emerges a vivid picture of the problems and difficulties that confronted the pioneers in nursing education in this country.

The third part takes Miss Goodrich through the years when she served as state inspector of training schools in New York, as assistant professor of nursing education at Columbia University, and as director of nursing service at Henry Street Settlement. In all three capacities she gave great leadership in the development of nursing education and public health nursing.

"The Battle for Principle," the subject of the fourth part, deals largely with the problem of meeting nursing needs for the armed forces in the first world war and with the many controversial issues involved. The plan for an Army School, supported by Miss Goodrich, was accepted by the government, and she was named as dean of the school. In her work with the school she was able to put into practice some of her ideas regarding nursing education, and these had considerable influence on other schools of nursing.

Following the war, as a result of the Goldmark study of nursing education, a grant was given by the Rockefeller Foundation for an experiment in the education of nurses on a university level at Yale University. Miss Goodrich was appointed dean of the school, and the fifth part of the book is concerned with her experiences at Yale and her contributions to collegiate nursing education. After having served as dean from 1923 to 1934, she retired from Yale to an attractive home in the hills of Connecticut. The last part of the book is the story of the rich life she has led since retirement, having been sought out for advice and counsel by many members of her profession. Throughout the entire book many human and often humorous anecdotes are interwoven with skill. This biography is a warm and understanding picture of a dynamic, determined, but tolerant nursing leader.

MARY M. DUNLAP

*University of Chicago*

*The Other Child. The Brain-injured Child.* By RICHARD S. LEWIS, with ALFRED A. STRAUSS and LAURA E. LEHTINEN. New York: Grune & Stratton, Inc., 1951. Pp. 108. \$2.50.

The personal and social problems presented by the brain-injured child who bears no visible handicap and shows no gross intellectual deficit are complex and manifold. This small volume, addressed to the lay public, attempts to present these problems sympathetically. Because it is addressed to the lay public, it is important that the authors avoid the stigma which community ignorance has frequently attached to the child whose behavior is so unpredictable and performance so "spotty," that he cannot fit into the usual public educational facilities. The book is skillful in presenting commonplace examples and analogies of the child's difficulties, while keeping the psychological aspects of the problems at a minimum. The considerable medical literature which exists on this subject has, so far as we know, not been reduced to nontechnical language, and to that extent the efforts of the writers to acquaint the lay public with an understanding of the problems presented is a commendable one.

The authors have selected four key areas of "basic deviation" for discussion: perception, concept formation, language, and emotional behavior, and their descriptions of these are very lucidly put. (Other key areas, e.g., the problem of sexual maturation, so important because of its relationship to delinquency, are not mentioned.) They indicate that with appropriate understanding and habit training, the distortions of reality to which this child is subject can be overcome, after the diagnostic picture through expert medical opinion has become clarified. While it is true that to a degree, substitute responses might be achieved in some of these areas, it is also true that, where a basic neurological defect exists in concept formation, this cannot be corrected. They also state that the brain-injured child "may or may not be intellectually retarded." In so far as the child's social adjustment is concerned, this aspect of the problem is of crucial significance since it determines achievable goals of adjustment as well as consideration of community facilities available.

In their endeavor to appraise the child and to encourage normal patterns of growth, the authors imply an optimism which workers in the field may question. While it is important that parental optimism not be destroyed, it is equally

important that false hope not be engendered or fostered regarding the child's eventual personal and community adjustment. Admittedly this is a delicate balance of attitude and understanding to strive for. This phase of the problem is a particularly acute one in the absence of adequate public school facilities geared to the special needs and problems of this group. Brain-injured children without visible physical handicap or gross intellectual deficit are usually placed in the ungraded room of the regular public school where teaching is geared to the needs of the mentally retarded child. Private institutions are, in the main, prohibitively expensive for the average wage or salaried worker. State custodial institutions are also not usually available for this special group. Only the home remains, therefore, and it is the rare parent who has the capacity to accept and deal effectively with this extraordinarily difficult, painful, and socially disruptive situation. Unhappily, we have no census of the numbers of children so handicapped, because of the haphazard or non-existent public educational facilities available to them, although clinics and schools are constantly faced with this problem. In its efforts to sharpen public awareness of this community lack, this book may have some value.

SARAH S. FURST

*Social Service Department  
University of Chicago Clinics*

*When Doctors Are Patients.* Edited by MAX PINNER, M.D., and BENJAMIN F. MILLER, M.D. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1952. Pp. xix+364. \$3.95.

In this unusual book thirty-three physicians tell their individual reactions (mental and physical) to the specific disease with which each doctor was afflicted. The specific diseases (twenty in all) include cancer, psychosis, tuberculosis, heart disease, aging, morphine addiction, and alcoholism. The book is primarily written for the younger doctors of medicine, but the language in the majority of chapters is such that laymen can read the book with great profit. The doctors are subject to the same diseases as are lay citizens. Does the understanding of the causes and consequences of a disease modify the course of the ailment in that individual? Evidently not, or at least not much.

A. J. CARLSON

*University of Chicago*

*Frontiers in Medicine: The March of Medicine, 1950.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1951. Pp. xii+150. \$2.50.

This book presents the 1950 series of *Lectures to the Laity*, sponsored by the New York Academy of Medicine. The following leaders in six fields of modern medicine present, in language not too difficult for our lay citizen, some of the victories and some of the unsolved problems of health and disease of today. Dr. Franz Alexander, Psychiatry; Dr. David Segal, Ageing and Health; Dr. Lawrence Snyder, Heredity and Health; Dr. John H. Gibbon, Some Achievements of Modern Surgery; Dr. Selman Waksman, The Antibiotics; Dr. Thomas M. Rivers, Concepts and Methods of Medical Research. This volume is a distinct contribution to adult education in a field of profound importance to all citizens. We congratulate the New York Academy of Medicine for sponsoring these lectures and the Columbia University Press for making them available at a reasonable cost. A real study of the volume will help to make that individual a better citizen.

A. J. CARLSON

*University of Chicago*

*Psychology in the Service of the School.* By M. F. CLEUGH. New York: Philosophical Library, 1951. Pp. vii+183. \$3.75.

What should the teacher know about children's problems of adjustment? When are these problems part of growing up and when are they serious enough to warrant referral to a child guidance center? What practical techniques for handling maladjusted children can the teacher have at her command? Answers to these and other questions are attempted by the author in this brief handbook.

In the introduction, Dr. Cleugh discusses the misleading and incorrect interpretations often given psychological concepts. Particularly in relation to child rearing and education, psychological jargon has been used freely without being clearly understood. Common sense has been forgotten in the desire to be psychologically sophisticated. Frequently unwise use of the guidance center with resulting disappointment has been made. The school and the center must learn to work together with the specialists in the center contributing their services to the individual and also to society, to produce an "enlightened attitude towards mental health."

Rules are offered to help the teacher clarify what are contributing and what are noncontributing causes of behavior. Possible causes of error in judgment are described. Underscored is the need for the teacher to understand how her own personality evokes certain reactions in her students which in turn results in differences in her interpretations and handling. One can take issue with the author when it is suggested that if the child's problems are clear, there is less cause to refer to a center. Certainly, there is good reason to urge clarification of problems, but the teacher for many reasons may be in no position to act—whereas the center may.

Before reaching conclusions about the significance of symptoms, the teacher should recognize that what holds for one child and age does not necessarily apply for another. If the behavior and symptoms are persisted in, will they so affect the child that he cannot make an adjustment in society? If so, this is a maladjusted child. His personality as a whole, not just one facet, should be evaluated. If the atypical behavior is found in less than one-sixth of an unselected group of children of the same age and comparable background, such behavior should be considered "unusual." Behavior observed in only 1 per cent or 2 per cent should be considered maladjusted. In considering treatability, problems of nurture have more chance of being rectified than those due to nature.

Dr. Cleugh explains that there are two parallel methods of dealing with tension in environment—fight or flight. Both may be used at various times by a single child, or one method may become habitual and characteristic. Unless extreme, these reactions are part of growing up. In dealing with the aggressive child, the teacher must maintain her position of authority and help socialize the child with whatever methods of punishment, deprivation, or demonstrated concern are needed. She must try to relieve the tension without resentment and retaliation. The aggressive child presents a nuisance value in the control of the group.

The opposite extreme of aggression is shyness and withdrawal. It has been found that teachers do not consider this behavior so serious an indicator of maladjustment as aggression. Yet the shy child requires the same calm, mature handling. Confidence and self-reliance should be developed slowly. Praise, noncompetitive situations, incentives, must be provided.

In the chapter "Mixed Bag of Examples," the author describes briefly some seventy case

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studies, indicating whether or not the outlook for adjustment is good or bad. These are not extreme cases, nor do many require referral to the guidance center. However, the briefness with which they are described results in oversimplification. The reader is not given sufficient data and reasons to evaluate the outlook. Teachers are acquainted with the wide variety of children's problems. It would seem, therefore, that fewer cases with more historical background and suggestions for handling might have been more helpful.

Before reaching the doors of the guidance center to discover what goes on, the teacher is presented with a restatement of the general suggestion for dealing with the problem child. Fourteen guiding principles are stated, starting with: "Don't rush, know facts, seek simplest explanation, try simplest remedy—to prevention better than cure."

In the end, referral to the guidance center may be a necessity. A description of clinic procedures and techniques gives the teacher a yardstick for the type of case to refer, how to do it, and what may be expected. If treatment is undertaken, then a close working relationship with the school and other agencies is wise. Subnormal, uncontrolled, and delinquent children are not, for the most part, suitable cases to refer, according to Dr. Cleugh. To this there might be disagreement, and the author recognizes possible differences of opinion.

The book is fluently written in nontechnical language. Throughout there is frequent use of illustrative cases. However, more orientation in the dynamics of maladjustment would have strengthened this material. The suggestions, rules, and approaches would seem to be well known and accepted by mature teachers. The book's value is the general understanding, confidence, and security which it gives to the beginning teacher.

FRANCES C. PERCE

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*The Boston Y.M.C.A. and Community Need: A Century Evaluation, 1851-1951.* By WILLIAM B. WHITESIDE. New York: Association Press, 1951. Pp. 239.

In anticipation of the celebration of the hundredth anniversary of its founding the Boston

YMCA awarded a two-year fellowship to the author of this book to develop the history of its organization, the first YMCA founded in America. The research undertaken and the writing of the manuscript from which this book was produced were supervised by the History Department of Harvard University, the book being a reduced version of the author's doctoral dissertation.

With good use of historical documentary evidence the author finds three basic factors which combined to produce the founding of the Boston YMCA: (1) compelling religious convictions; (2) recognition of the difficulties youth faced, particularly young men away from home, in a city of rapid urban development; and (3) a long and substantial tradition of forming associations especially on the part of youth. The founding impetus was given by a retired sea captain Thomas V. Sullivan, who as a lay missionary had started the Marine Mission for seamen in connection with which he developed what he, called a program of "social religion." Under interdenominational sponsorship it emphasized meeting the social needs of young men away from home such as temperance boarding homes, library activity, and meeting of needs in general.

In 1851 Captain Sullivan read in a church publication an account of the activities of the London YMCA, which had already enjoyed seven or eight years of thriving operation by that time. His own experiences with seamen gave him the feeling that this type of leisure-time organization was what was needed by large numbers of young men drawn to Boston from all over New England, across the seas, and elsewhere by the city's fast commercial expansion. He therefore took the initiative of gathering together a number of interested young men who within a few weeks produced the constitution and organization that founded the Boston YMCA.

The purpose was originally described as "improvement of the spiritual and mental condition of young men"; and, while any man "of good moral character" could avail himself of organizational facilities and hold associate membership, only those of good standing in an evangelical Protestant church could vote. The author ably shows how the strong sponsorship control taken by the evangelical churches had a distracting effect for years to come on the organization's basic program of meeting the social needs of young men. However, the practical meeting of the social needs of young men continued to be



experimentally developed and never was lost sight of during years of programs of partial church duplication and public evangelism. By 1883 the association moved into its first self-designed building, which included facilities for physical development, a lecture hall, a chapel, classrooms, social and game rooms. By this time it seems to have clarified its purpose so that it was ready to emerge as a social agency meeting a certain area of community social need similar to that function which the YMCA is generally recognized as performing today.

A most interesting description is given of the development of the educational effort of the Boston YMCA, which enjoyed such a rapid development in meeting unmet educational needs of the community around the turn of the century that it somewhat dwarfed the association's community social need program. The author also describes some of the ventures of the Boston YMCA into the development of such things as, railroad YMCA work, Army and Navy YMCA work, work with racial and community groups, summer camping and neighborhood YMCA work with children, but, generally it seemed, with less completeness and clarity than achieved with regard to the historical development of the founding and first fifty years. The Boston YMCA appears to have entered branch

YMCA work more slowly and with considerably less success than organizations in many other metropolitan centers. Possible reasons for this are not developed.

The author alludes to the probable influence of the national YMCA office with regard to a number of local efforts but seems not to have been able to document and evaluate the significance of the national organization's contribution to various local developments on which its help was sought.

The tool of historical research naturally dominated the study. However, one feels that unless the original manuscript contains considerable material of descriptive evaluation of modern-day efforts at meeting community social needs the well-disciplined historical effort was more effective in gaining an understanding of the earlier and less complicated development of the organization. One would have liked some additional assessment, perhaps gathered by sociological or social welfare research methodology, aimed at a more complete evaluation of the success and lack of success of the Boston YMCA efforts in meeting its area of community social need in the last twenty or thirty years.

RICHARD G. GUILFORD

*University of Minnesota*

#### BRIEF NOTICES

*The Doctors Jacobi.* By RHODA TRUAX. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1952. Pp. 270. \$3.50.

This is a factual, fair, and fascinating record or biography of two leaders in the advance in medicine in the second half of the last century. Training and leadership in medicine in our country a hundred years ago was an unusual achievement, even for an exceptional woman like Mary Putnam. This woman, and her husband, Dr. Abraham Jacobi, trained in Europe and an American citizen by choice, made significant contributions, especially to the advancement in pediatrics and gynecology, through their integrity, intelligence, industry, and courage. This is not fiction. It is a cheer and a challenge toward better work on the part of this generation of citizens. Some people in the past lived up to our name: "Wise men."

A. J. CARLSON

*The Battle for Mental Health.* By JAMES CLARK MOLONEY, M.D. New York: Philosophical Library, 1952. Pp. x+105. \$3.50.

This simple but not superficial publication is suitable for a wide audience, lay person to professional. It should be useful in professional education in several disciplines, notably psychiatry, medicine, pediatrics, education and social work.

The author, a psychoanalyst, defines mental health and attributes responsibility for it to obstetrical, pediatric, and child-rearing methods in the earliest months of life when personality is patterned. Because modern practices have fostered mental ill health largely through being fashioned by certain complexities in current society which make trouble for that primitive, the human infant, he focuses sharply on corrective measures indicated. These involve a return within limits to the warmly permissive practices of the "primitives." He shows those practices which can be transplanted effectively into civilized life. Among other measures the urgent need for promoting relaxation in American mothers and for the exchange of "rooming in" procedures for present-day maternity methods are presented clearly and supported convincingly. The author's theories of cause and cure are documented richly to scientific, clinical, and anthropological observations. Each

chapter closes with a well-selected bibliography useful to students.

This book is recommended to social work educators and to social workers in the field of practice. Among other values it demonstrates professional writing at its nontechnical best to serve the purpose of interpretation which truly communicates.

C. T.

*Essays in Provocation.* By GLENN E. HOOVER. New York: Philosophical Library, 1951. Pp. xvi+226. \$3.00.

This small volume comprises a collection of letters, addresses, and critiques by Professor Hoover of Mills College, head of the economics and sociology department. The title should have been "Challenges to Sophists and Reactionaries." The author is a militant liberal who does not hear or read gladly or patiently those who, from his point of view, indulge in illogical arguments or seek to obfuscate and confuse the general public. He loses no time and wastes no words in exposing them, or in puncturing and making hash of their views. He is brief, caustic, sharp, forceful.

Most of his letters to editors or columnists of conservative magazines or papers or to leading executives of big utilities and corporations, mostly defenders of capitalism, must have been rejected, returned without thanks, or printed most reluctantly. As a rule, his points are well taken. He usually hits his mark. Some of his comments are open to objections from the radical and independent standpoints. Occasionally, he sins against his own canons and injunctions. But the pages make lively and interesting reading. They are thought-provoking. We need more fighting scholars and educators of Professor Hoover's type. Discussion of controversial economic, political, and social issues should not be confined to classrooms. Adult education is an urgent need these days. Big Business has its aggressive champions in the press and in textbooks. The evolutionary reform movements do not carry on the effective propaganda they are credited with. They cannot afford it. They will be grateful for Professor Hoover's adroit polemical aid.

V. S. Y.

*The Shadow of the Gallows: The Case against Capital Punishment.* By VISCOUNT TEMPLEWOOD, D.C.L.,

LL.D., Litt.D. London: Victor Gollancz, Ltd., 1951. Pp. 159. 8s. 6d.

Viscount Templewood's little book is important, not because he has found any new arguments against capital punishment, but because of his unusual experience as Home Secretary, when he had the responsibility for administering the law of capital punishment and advising the King regarding the exercise of the royal pardoning power.

In 1937 as Home Secretary he began two years of hard work, in which he "tried to humanize and rationalize rather than to sentimentalize" his country's penal methods. And he was concerned about the Criminal Justice Bills of 1938 and 1948.

It is interesting that Viscount Templewood thinks that the abolition of the death penalty is "far more urgent than in the years before the war." That is, he says, because of "the terrible destruction of human life and the even more disastrous lowering of civilized standards that the world has lately suffered." He has been convinced, he says, that "a new and intensified effort must be made to re-establish and reinforce the dignity of human life." He also says that "any great war is certain to cheapen human values, but when there is added to its inevitable effects, the wholesale killings, mutilations and tortures of the totalitarian governments, the result is first of all a feeling of general horror." Therefore, he thinks that "almost imperceptibly, the very extent of the crimes against humanity begins to blunt the reaction against them."

Lord Templewood dismisses the argument that "the public exposure of atrocities acts as a warning and a deterrent to potential criminals." He says that this claim "can only be justified so long as publicity does not accustom society to the existence of crime, or stir up the dregs of cruelty that always lie below the surface of human nature." He argues that there is likely to be "a dangerous gloating over horrors, and actual lowering of the standards that we wish to rebuild." He tells his readers that the way in which many people now think and talk of the taking of human life has convinced him that "the publicity given to atrocities in the Press, on films, and in the Nuremberg trials has had the exact opposite of the effect that was intended, and has lowered rather than raised civilized standards."

The different chapters discuss the influence of history, attempts at reform and abolition, Indian experience and the Indian Code, culpable homicide in Scotland, the prerogative of mercy, mistaken identity, abolition and the alternative of imprisonment, the final scene. There are several useful appendices.

## REVIEWS OF GOVERNMENT REPORTS AND PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

*Foster Care of Children in Michigan. Report of Joint Legislative Committee: Seven Studies Concerning Foster Care of Children.* Lansing: Michigan State Department of Public Welfare, 1951. Pp. viii+256.

This is a volume of facts and figures. It is not easy reading, and the conclusions and recommendations are not new or startling; most of the findings must have been evident to those who have worked in the state of Michigan in child welfare even before the studies verified their knowledge. But it is excellent to have the facts gathered and set down in an orderly and intelligent manner. It would be interesting and enlightening to compare the situation in Michigan with foster-care in other states. Probably the over-all recommendations would be sound for almost any state in the union, though the details might differ from place to place.

The "specific findings and recommendations," condensed into seven pages, should be a helpful guide for child welfare work in Michigan for some time to come. The student will be particularly interested in the estimates of the need for expansion of facilities for foster-care. Although there appear to be not less than three to four thousand children in Michigan in need of some type in foster-care which is not now available to them, there are probably already in foster-care, children who, "with good planning," might be returned to their own parents or who would not have needed to be removed from their homes if adequate and understanding protective service had been available. Hence, the total figure of Michigan children needing foster-care is put at "below sixteen thousand." Of course, and obviously, the prevention of family difficulties that now result in foster-placement of children calls for additional and skilful case-work service, and this same skill would undoubtedly discover other neglected children for placement. In the section of the study devoted to the ADC case load, it is estimated that foster-care is probably needed for about thirteen hundred children now being supported in their own homes. Here,

again, the recommendations point out forcibly that the problems presented in working out a good life for these children imply flexible services and great skill, whether the children remain in their unhappy homes or are placed in foster-care. There is no easy or sure "cure" for broken family life.

In general, the recommendations can be summed up in three areas:

Additional financial support for child welfare programs.

The development of special facilities for the care and treatment of children presenting special problems.

Clarification of relationships between the various agencies, public and private, administrative and judicial, now carrying partial, often overlapping and confused responsibilities for foster-care of children.

It is impossible in a changing world to expect to find a perfect or final solution to the difficult problem of sharing the parenting of children between child-care agencies and inadequate own parents. Reports like this one of the state of Michigan will, however, be instrumental in enabling us to work more intelligently toward improvement of the care of these particularly needy children.

Perhaps the most significant recommendation of the *Report* is the last one—for continuing study. It would be valuable if we had a report similar to this one for 1931 and 1911. In that way we could know something of the trends in the field. Lacking this, it will certainly be worth while to have similar reports available in the future. In the closing words of the "Conclusions," "A program as large and important as the care of children away from their own homes calls for continuous study. Only in that way can the people of the State be sure the needs are being met in the most effective way and that costs are reasonable and fairly apportioned between different governmental units."

ETHEL VERRY

Chicago Child Care Society

*South Carolina State Department of Public Welfare, Fourteenth Annual Report for the Year Ended June 30, 1951.* Columbia, S.C., 1951. Pp. vi+62.

South Carolina administers its public welfare services through a variety of separate agencies: mental health in an independent state hospital, corrections under the boards of Industrial Schools, probation and parole under its own board, and child welfare divided between an independent Children's Bureau and the Department of Public Welfare. The latter agency, whose report is here reviewed has responsibility for public assistance, blind services, and that part of child welfare service that is supported by federal aid under Title V, Part 3 of the Social Security Act.

Born of the depression and created in response to the requirements of the public assistance titles of the Social Security Act, the State Department of Public Welfare is concerned almost exclusively with federally aided programs: four special categories of public assistance; a variety of blind services, including rehabilitation under Public Law 113, talking books, and the concession stands; and child welfare services. Among the organizational anomalies in this state are the division of the vocational rehabilitation services between the Department of Public Welfare (blind) and the Department of Education, and the placement of child welfare services in the Department of Public Welfare instead of in the Children's Bureau. This allocation of services between state agencies seems even more illogical when it is noted from the *Report* that blind services apparently are not integrated with Aid to the Blind and that the division of child welfare functions between the two agencies is vague and indefinite.

The organization of this *Report* follows the functional organization of the department, with separate sections devoted to the Child Welfare Division, Division for the Blind, and Division of Field Social Service—the latter an integrated field service which operates under a chief, nine field supervisors, and four child welfare consultants.

The whole program of the department is state operated and supported except for insignificant local contributions toward administrative costs. The department administers general assistance as well as the four federally aided categories. The actual administration is carried out by county departments of public welfare,

but each such department has an administrative board appointed by the state agency.

The *Report* indicates that the case-load trend in public assistance is downward. Applications for old age assistance fell off over 2,500 compared with the previous year. This reduction is attributed to the 1950 amendments to Old Age and Survivors Insurance and to the growing industrialization of the state. Over a thousand OAA cases were closed by transfer to OASI, and over eight hundred other cases had their needs partially met by the expanded insurance program. The number of children on ADC dropped almost five thousand during the year. Part of this reduction was achieved through transfer to OASI, but many cases were closed as a result of a vigorous attempt to enforce the state's non-support laws. General assistance cases were reduced from five thousand to a figure just above three thousand, largely by transfer to the new category of Aid to the Permanent and Totally Disabled. The disabled category was aiding 2,319 cases at the end of the year, of which two-thirds were transfers from General Assistance.

The Child Welfare Division appears to be primarily occupied with a case-work service to children in their own homes and in foster-homes. Special emphasis is given to illegitimate children and to interstate placements. The Division used the enlarged federal grant to initiate a foster-placement service for "special groups of children for whom no other resources for care were available." The Division and the county departments of public welfare gave service to over 1,300 children involved in interstate placement. When children served by the Division are placed for adoption the cases are "referred to the South Carolina Children's Bureau, which agency follows through on the legal process of adoption."

The last forty pages of the *Report* are given to detailed statistical data. A complete roster of all positions in both state and county offices with titles and salary is also included.

ALTON A. LINFORD

*University of Chicago*

*Motion Pictures on Child Life.* Compiled by INEZ D. LOHR. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1952. Pp. 60. \$0.40.

A list of films that relate to all aspects of childhood has been prepared by the Children's Bureau to answer hundreds of requests for such

information from the general public and from professional people who work with children. It is the first such list prepared by the Bureau and includes more than 450 films on the social, medical, mental, and developmental aspects of child life. Each film is briefly described, but no attempt has been made to evaluate the individual films. They are grouped around such headings as

adolescence, child care, child development, juvenile delinquency, mental health, nutrition, etc.

Dr. Martha M. Eliot, Chief of the Bureau, said she hopes that the film list can be widely used as a reference by such organizations as parent-teacher groups, by schools and universities, health educators, and welfare departments.

## CONTRIBUTORS

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DAVID REIFEN, first juvenile court judge in Israel, was born and educated in Germany, went to "Palestine" in 1931, and joined a Collective Settlement (Kibutz). From 1935 he was employed with Tel Aviv Municipality for ten years, responsible for developing programs for wayward and delinquent youth. He was a captain during the Israeli War of Independence, in charge of the rehabilitation program for amputated soldiers.

A. H. HAYNES is employed by the Kent County Council Health Department (England) as a district officer and is responsible for a variety of welfare duties growing out of a number of Acts of Parliament, including mental health, ambulance service, care and aftercare of tuberculous patients, welfare of the aged, etc. He is vice-chairman of the Institute of Welfare and the senior vice-president of the Kent Branch of their professional association.



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The *International Labour Review* may also be obtained from the publishers in the United Kingdom, Messrs. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., Ruskin House, 40 Museum Street, London, W.C. 1.

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The Scholarships, provided through funds from U.S. Children's Bureau, are for study at the University of Chicago, School of Social Service Administration. Responsibility for selection of students rests with the School of Social Service Administration and appropriate personnel of the Division of Services for Crippled Children. Applications should be made immediately to the Dean of the School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago,  
Chicago 37, Illinois.

